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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE TERRORS OF SUBMISSION.

From The Charleston Mercury, October 11.

A FEW days since, we endeavored to show that the pictures of ruin and desolation to the South, which the submissionists to black Republican domination were so continually drawing, to "fright us from our propriety," were unreal and false. We propose now to reverse the picture, and to show what will probably be the consequences of a submission of the Southern States to the rule of abolitionism at Washington, in the persons of Messrs. Lincoln and Hamlin, should they be elected to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States.

1. The first effect of the submission of the South to the installation of Abolitionists in the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, must be a powerful consolidation of the strength of the abolition party at the North. Success generally strengthens. If, after all the threats of resistance and disunion, made in Congress and out of Congress, the Southern States sink down into acquiescence, the demoralization of the South will be complete. Add the patronage resulting from the control of ninety-four thousand offices, and the expenditure of eighty millions of money annually, and they must be irresistible in controlling the general government.

2. To plunder the South for the benefit of the North, by a new protective tariff, will be one of their first measures of Northern sectional dominion; and, on the other hand, to exhaust the treasury by sectional schemes of appropriation, will be a congenial policy.

3. Immediate danger will be brought to slavery, in all the frontier States. When a party is enthroned at Washington, in the executive and legislative departments of the government, whose creed it is to repeal the Fugitive Slave laws, the *Under*ground Railroad will become an *Over*ground Railroad. The tenure of slave property will be felt to be weakened; and the slaves will be sent down to the cotton States for sale, and the frontier States enter on the policy of making themselves free States.

4. With the control of the government of the United States, and an organized and triumphant North to sustain them, the Abolitionists will renew their operations upon the South with increased courage. The thousands in every country who look up to power and make gain out of the future, will come out in support of the Abolition Government. The Brownlows and Botts, in the South, will multiply. They will organize, and, from being a Union party, to support an Abolition Government, they will become, like the government they support, Abolitionists. They will have an Abolition party in the South, of Southern men. The contest for slavery will no longer be one between the North and the South. It will be in the South, between the people of the South.

5. If, in our present position of power and unitedness, we have the raid of John Brown, and twenty towns burned down in Texas in one year by Abolitionists, what will be the measures of insurrection and incendiarism which must follow our notorious and abject prostration to abolition rule at Washington, with all the patronage of the Federal Government, and a Union organization in the South to support it? Secret conspiracy, and its attendant horrors, with rumors of horrors, will hover over every portion of the South; while, in the language of the Black Republican patriarch, Giddings, they "will laugh at your calamities, and mock when your fear cometh."

6. Already there is uneasiness throughout the South as to the stability of its institution of slavery. But with a submission to the rule of Abolitionists at Washington, thousands of slaveholders will despair of the institution. While the condition of things in the frontier States will force their slaves on the markets of the cotton States, the timid in the cotton States will also sell their slaves. The general distrust must affect purchasers. The consequence must be, slave property must be greatly depreciated. We see advertisements for the sale of slaves in some of the cotton States, for the simple object of getting rid of them; and we know that standing orders for the purchase of slaves in this market have been withdrawn, on account of an anticipated decline of value from the political condition of the country.

7. We suppose that, taking in view all these things, it is not extravagant to estimate that the submission of the South to the administration of the Federal Government under Messrs. Lincoln and Hamlin, must reduce the value of slaves in the South one hundred dollars each. It is computed that there are four million, three hundred thousand slaves in the United States. Here, therefore, is a loss to the Southern people of four hundred and thirty millions of dollars, on their slaves alone. Of course, real estate of all kinds must partake also in the depreciation of slaves.

8. Slave property is the foundation of all property in the South. When security in this is shaken, all other property partakes of its instability. Banks, stocks, bonds, must be influenced. Timid men will sell out and leave the South. Confusion, distrust and pressure must reign.

9. Before Messrs. Lincoln and Hamlin can be installed in Washington, as President and Vice-President of the United States, the Southern States can dissolve peaceably (we know what we say) their union with the North. Mr. Lincoln and his abolition cohorts, will have no South to reign over. Their game would be blocked. The foundation of their organization would be taken away, and, left to the tender mercies of a baffled, furious, and troubled North, they would be cursed and crushed, as the flagitious cause of the disasters around them. But if we submit, and do not dissolve our union with the North, we make the triumph of our abolition enemies complete, and enable them to consolidate and wield the power of the North for our destruction.

10. If the South once submits to the rule of Abolitionists by the general government, there is, probably, an end of all peaceful separation of the Union. We can only escape the ruin they meditate for the South by war. Armed with the power of the general government, and their organizations of the North, they will have no respect for our courage or energy, and they will use the sword for our subjection. If there is any man in the South who believes that we must separate from the North, we appeal to his humanity, in case Mr. Lincoln is elected, to dissolve our connection with the North before the 4th of March next.

11. The ruin of the South, by the emancipation of her slaves, is not like the ruin of any other people. It is not a mere loss of liberty, like the Italians under the Bourbons. It is not heavy taxation, which must still leave the means of living, for otherwise taxation defeats itself. But it is the loss of liberty, property, home, country—everything that makes life worth having. And this loss will probably take place under circumstances of suffering and horror unsurpassed in the history of nations. We must preserve our liberties and institutions, under penalties greater than those which impend over any people in the world.

12. Lastly, we conclude this brief statement of the terrors of submission, by declaring that, in our opinion, they are tenfold greater even than the supposed terrors of disunion.

From the same, Oct. 13.

Our telegraphic despatch from Washington, in our yesterday's paper, stated that Governor Seward had let out the important fact, that should Mr. Lincoln be elected President of the United States, he intended to put forth a proclamation of such views as he deemed important, to allay all opposition from the Southern States. Seward and Lincoln obviously think that the Southern people are very like a captured elephant. In Africa they dig a hole for him, and when he has tumbled in, they beat him and then bring him some grass; and thus, by alternate beating and feeding, they subdue his spirit, and he follows his master. So these two political charlatans suppose that, after years of sectional organization in the North, on the ground of hostility to African slavery in the South, and its rightful and necessary overthrow by the general government, and they succeed in gaining the mastery of the government to carry out their policy, they have only to put forth a few hypocritical and lying phrases, and the South will submit—a little green grass to the elephant in the pit. Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Seward is nobody in this great contest. They are only the froth on the top of the wave; the wave itself begins its heave from the depths of the ocean. They have, by their demagogical and fanatical appeals to the people of the North, divided the Union into two great antagonistic sections. They have taught the people of the North that it is their duty, and their high and holy mission, to extinguish African slavery in the South. That they should endeavor, when reaching the powers of the general government, to keep the people of the South passive under their rule, is perfectly natural. That they may even endeavor to get their cohorts to pause, in view of the separation of the indignant South from the North, is also very natural. They know that the day the Union is dissolved, is the day of their doom. But, if the South submits to their rule, they cannot arrest the onward course of events. If they pause, they will be trampled down, as the first originators of this anti-slavery agitation in the North have been. Where, now, are the Barnards, the Hunts, the Cushings, the Winthrops, the Van Burens, the Everetts of the North? And so it will be with Messrs. Lincoln and Seward, if they attempt to arrest the tide of sectional fanaticism and ambition, short of its great consummation—the abolition of African slavery in the South. If Mr. Lincoln was to come out and declare that he held sacred every right of the South, with respect to African slavery, no one should believe him, and, if he was believed, his professions should have not the least influence on the course of the South. The Northern people, by electing him, have manifested their determination to set up a sectional and fanatical dominion over the South, totally inconsistent with the whole scope of the Constitution, and the safety and self-government of the South.

SOUTHERN IDEAS RESPECTING THE LABORERS OF THE NORTH.

[The following petition appears in Bennett's *Herald*, to which it was sent from Charleston, S. C., by a correspondent who says: "We send you the copy of a petition which will be presented by the people of the cotton States to Congress, should Mr. Lincoln be elected. The original is in this city, and will be signed, we believe, by every right-thinking man, without exception, when the time comes."]

PETITION.

THE undersigned, citizens of the cotton States, respectfully show to your honorable body that, at the present time, there exists in the States of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York, but more especially in the city of New York, a great and growing evil, for which, as citizens of this vast consolidated government, they fear that they, too, must be held responsible to God as well as to man, and for the eradication of which, at every hazard, they are bound, as good Christians, to strive. Your petitioners mean the institution of "white slavery" in its most shocking and repulsive form. Your petitioners have been credibly informed that in the above-named places there are now hundreds of thousands of the outpourings of the workshops, lazarettos and prisons of Europe, besides their own native paupers, many of whom work from morning until night, and frequently during a part of each night, for from eighteen to thirty cents, while others, unwilling to work for so little or to work at all, support themselves by begging and stealing, and miserably perish, some for want of bread or sufficient clothing, in the public streets, even in the presence of the luxurious and wealthy; others in the prisons or on the scaffold. These people are prohibited [illegible] political rights, and are even encouraged, from infancy to the grave, to repudiate the Bible and deny the existence of Almighty God. Of this condition of things your petitioners cannot very well conceive; for though they die slaveholders themselves, and have always lived among slaves, yet their slaves are by nature of a different and inferior race of men, for whose lives, health, careful and religious instruction it is and ever has been your petitioners' interest, as it is your petitioners' duty, to care to the utmost; besides which, they never can become citizens of this great democratic nation, as well on account of their color as their inferiority; and they never perish for want of food, clothing, shelter or protection; but the "white slaves" of the North are not only not of an inferior caste, but many of them were born citizens, and all of them may become citizens, of this great nation, and in every respect the equal of their masters. Your petitioners, firmly persuaded that no people who will permit so much wrong and injustice to continue can expect the favor of God, and that in this consolidated government your petitioners, as well as the people among whom it exists, must answer for this crying sin, have resolved most respectfully to suggest to your honorable body the propriety of erasing this dark page from the history of our nation.

Your petitioners further show that one William H. Seward, lately a Senator from the said State of New York, has been holding forth to the aforesaid white slaves, and sometimes to their masters, that there is, and must always be, "an irrepressible conflict between African slave labor and white labor, until the former shall be, as it ought to be, extinguished in blood"; but he has falsely assumed that all white labor is free labor—though he well knows that in no form is African slavery as abject and degraded as is the pauper labor of his own State; and he has artfully concealed from the aforesaid masters, while he has made it plain to their "white slaves," that this irrepressible conflict is, in truth, the conflict between poverty on the one side, and wealth on the other, and that to this conflict the Red Republicans of France and the black Republicans of America owe their existence; but your petitioners are willing that he who planted the seed of this agrarian doctrine in our soil, and the people who have watched the tree in its growth, should be the first to taste of its fruit. They therefore humbly pray your honorable body to cause a fair and equal division of all the property, real and personal, gold and silver, goods and chattels of all kinds, held and owned by the people of the above-named States, to be made among them all, so that hereafter there may be no poor man, woman or child to be found among them, and the reproach of "white slavery" be removed forever from the skirts of your petitioners. About your right to illustrate, by this equal distribution of property, the excellence and beauty of Mr. Seward's doctrine, there can be no doubt, now that we live under a consolidated government, wherein the will of the majority in Congress is the Constitution. Until with your aid we shall have removed this dark and damning sin from the consciences, as well of ourselves as of our distant brethren of the North, it will not be either meet or proper, perhaps hardly decent, for us to begin to think of our own offences (if any we have committed) against morals and religion.

Grant us our prayer, which is designed to promote the very best interest of Northern society, and we will, as in duty bound, ever pray, etc.

Signed already by tens of thousands in anticipation.

SLAVERY AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

From The New Orleans Christian (!) Advocate.

SOUTHERN slavery, as a rule, is the mildest and most benevolent system of labor in the world, and the slaves, without abolition temptation, are the most happy and contented laborers. But, granting it the character attributed to it by the Abolitionists, it is even then, in comparison with abolitionism, most saintly and holy. There is not an evil to character and home, to society or country, attributed to slavery, by an ignorant or lying press, that abolitionism does not produce a hundredfold. It is the life of modern politics, the falsehood of modern philosophy, the apostasy of modern civilization. If ever men deserved the doom which Benedict Arnold escaped, W. H. Seward, Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and their abettors, political and clerical, are the men. And yet, Southern men, and patriotic Northern men, too, who are determined to resist the demon of abolition in every form, and to make no compromise with the insidious monster, and who simply contend for the Constitution of their country, and the Union based upon it, are denounced sometimes by Southern men as fire-eaters, extremists, ultras and disunionists! Shame on the ignoble souls who thus attempt to weaken the public confidence in reference to the monstrous iniquity of abolitionism. This indirect support of the Abolitionists has done more to embolden them in their aggressions than anything else. Even now, Lincoln's organ at Chicago, John Wentworth's paper, boldly advocates the overthrow of slavery in the States as the doctrine of the Republican party, and shames the Republican leaders who are too timid to avow it. It quotes Lincoln's language, embodying the same sentiment. But so far as we can see, nothing but defeat, and the election of an abolitionist, will ever teach Southern men, and constitutional men generally, the lessons of patriotism and political wisdom. United, black Republicanism could be easily defeated. The people are willing to unite, but the demagogues and office-seekers, who curse the country, will not let them. And thus we are divided into three parties, when we ought to be one; just as the Jews were divided into irreconcilable factions when Jerusalem and the temple were tottering to their fall. Our country has fallen upon evil times, and nothing but the providence of God can save us, for vain is the help of man. While Christian men should use all the political means in their power, the present should be a time of general humiliation and prayer.

Selections.

DR. CHEEVER'S RECEPTION AT LEEDS.

From The Leeds (England) Mercury, Oct. 4.

LAST night, the Rev. Dr. Cheever, pastor of the Church of the Puritans, New York, delivered an address, in East Parade chapel, under the auspices of the Leeds Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, on "American Slavery." EDWARD BAINES, Esq., M.P., presided, and amongst the ministers and other friends of the anti-slavery cause present were the Rev. G. W. Conder, the Rev. W. Hudswell, Rev. F. Edwards, Rev. Dr. Brewer, Rev. J. Mather, Rev. P. M'Gowan, Geo. Thompson, Esq., F. Baines, Esq., T. E. Plint, Esq., S. Clapham, Esq., John Wade, Esq., etc. There was a large and respectable audience.

Dr. BREWER having offered up prayer,

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by observing that they were met that evening to give a hearty welcome to England and to Leeds of one of the most distinguished advocates of that great and sacred cause of human liberty—the emancipation of millions of slaves in the United States, from a cruel and degrading bondage. A more important and greater cause scarcely could demand their sympathy and their support (hear, hear), and he thought he might also say that a braver champion of truth and right had seldom presented himself before a Leeds audience (applause). He knew that the sympathies of Leeds were always with those subject to oppression, of whatever color and in whatever clime. They had lately had a meeting to testify their sympathy with Garibaldi in his noble efforts to secure the independence of Italy; but if they could be, as they were, enthusiastic in such a cause, how much more were they called upon to sympathize with those who, though differing from them in color, were still of the same flesh and blood—children of the same God—but who were subject to a bondage infinitely worse than the political and civil bondage under which the inhabitants of Italy or of any other part of Europe were suffering (hear, hear). He supposed it was not possible for him to use exaggerated terms in describing the slavery of the United States, but he felt that he ought not to enter into the subject, as it would be presented to them by a master who had studied near at hand all the features of that revolting system (hear, hear). He was glad that they had assembled to welcome Dr. Cheever, who, if he had not come from scenes of blood, still came from the high places of the field in which the great struggle was carried on against this debasing system of slavery; for, unhappily, there was no city in the Union where there were to be found firmer and more determined friends of slavery than in the city of New York. Many there were whose consciences had been awakened and whose hearts had been melted at the [illegible] the city of New York—he might even say in the Christian Churches of New York—there was found to exist a degree of support to this system which was disgraceful to those who were guilty of it, and disgraceful, if anything could be, to the Christian Churches of that city (hear, hear). Dr. Cheever had been fighting for many years an extremely arduous battle—he had set himself, as a Christian duty, to the exposure of the iniquity of slavery, and to show that it was condemned in the Scriptures. He was sure, therefore, that they would give him a hearty welcome when he came to ask them for that sympathy which had been given to him so slenderly in his own land, where he found not only pecuniary interests arrayed against him, but was subject to the most virulent opposition and calumny. To destroy Dr. Cheever would be the highest achievement of the pro-slavery party; and it was to strengthen his position that he came to seek their sympathy and support. Having freed themselves from the stain of slavery at an expense of twenty millions of money, England had a right to speak out on this subject without laying herself open to any charge of national jealousy or prejudice (hear, hear). He was most desirous to be distinct upon that point. They did not come there from any feeling of antipathy or jealousy against their friends across the Atlantic; they would most willingly welcome them as their coadjutors, in some respects their examples, in the great cause of civil liberty; but they came forward to declare their testimony on this subject, and to testify to their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic that they were upholding a great and grievous crime against God and against man (hear, hear). Dr. Cheever was there to speak from his own personal knowledge or from the testimony of those upon whom he could rely, and he was a witness who had no personal interests to serve, except that his interests would be like that of too many, to obtain peace for himself and unity for his own Church, by passing over this painful subject, but God had happily given him something of the spirit of the living martyr, and, as he had fought the fight in America, he was here to carry it on in England (applause). Mr. Baines concluded by introducing

Dr. CHEEVER to the meeting, and the rev. gentleman was received with loud applause. Having ascended the pulpit, he proceeded at considerable length to address the audience. He expressed the delight with which he addressed an audience of the friends of the enslaved, and in the manifestation of the cordial, hearty and effective hatred of slavery animating the Leeds Young Men's Christian Anti-Slavery Society—a Society whose influence had been felt in America through the noble protest and rebuke of their Wesleyan Churches in this country, against the continued complicity of the same Churches in the United States with this sin (hear, hear). Throwing himself upon their forbearance, and expressing his heartfelt gratitude and thanks for their sympathy and kindness towards him and his faithful, though much-abused Church, and especially towards the despised slave, he said that freedom and its possibility just now in the United States, and certainty for the future, was comprehended in one word—Abolition!—a hated word, but if the thing was not made a reality, all their freedom must become the worst of despotisms. He stood there to fulfil a duty of patriotism, philanthropy and piety, in denouncing the system of slavery and the act of slaveholding as always, inherently and inevitably, a sin against God and a cruelty against man—which God himself had denounced, along with the crime of murder, as worthy of death. They were accused of a want of patriotism and of being traitors to their country, because they endeavored to save it from destruction, because they endeavored to awaken the people to a sense of their guilt and danger, because they called upon them to rid themselves of this opprobrium and curse, and to cast off the tyranny of this crime. It is no want of patriotism to reveal a conspiracy against their country's freedom, to disclose the enemy within their gates; and was he to become their enemy because he told his countrymen the truth? Their native land was under the yoke of an intolerable tyranny. They were laboring to break it, and the true patriots in America were those who detested slavery and demanded its abolition (hear, hear). Their republicanism, their Constitution, their religion were invaded by the codes and armies of the Slave Power, and their patriotism compelled them to resist these insolent foreign lords and despots. It was a despotism worse than personal—the despotism that compelled them to be the base, despicable tools for fastening chains on others—the despotism that proclaimed its property in man, and commanded them to act the part of brawny national blacksmiths at this devil's anvil to forge and rivet for millions those chains by which their oppressors would hold them also in their power (applause). He could conceive nothing more degrading than such submission and such drudgery! Which would they rather do—be bound themselves with chains or endure the more servile thraldom of a taskmaster? his irons on their soul, compelling them to do his work of fettering and scourging others, their life's greatest accomplishment being to strengthen and perpetuate his power; and by a still more terrible refinement, being compelled at the peril of their lives to maintain the blasphemous assertions against God, their own souls, and the whole world—of this system of chains and moral assassination being the revealed will of the Almighty and the most perfect system of religion, freedom, civilization, and social happiness and glory? What was more execrable than the character and work of the slave-driver? and what slave-driving was worse than that which put even the Church in political coffles to sustain the Slave Power of the government of the country? They stood as Abolitionists, the only true patriots in defence of their country against this foreign foe (loud applause). He would next speak as to the accusation of being the slanderers of the Church and ministry in the States, or at least of misrepresenting or denying their piety or faithfulness, when he charged many of them with a guilty silence and complicity, and others with the iniquity of a bold and shameless defence of the slaveholder and sanctioning the sin. There was no possibility of denying these positions. The charge of unfaithfulness, most extreme and culpable, was made out even by Mr. Barnes (a very moderate man), in his often-quoted declaration, than which nothing could be more true, that American slavery could not exist at all outside the American Churches were it not sanctioned and sustained within (applause). If the Churches and the ministry would unite evangelically against it, trusting in God, they could sweep it from the whole land in twenty years (renewed applause). It was a fearful thing to see the indifference of many whose calling and commission should place them foremost in the strife, and to see others deliberately pledging their religion as mere caterers of the politics of the country. Its being sanctioned in the Church made it impossible that the political world should regard it as an evil; its being legalized in the government made it impossible that a religion which did not condemn it as a sin should oppose it as a legal institution. Now, the efficacy of the gospel, if ever demonstrated, must be in its application against such wickedness (hear, hear). If slaveholding were not sinful, they had no right to interfere with it; if it were a sin, they had no right not to interfere (hear, hear)—no right to keep silence. Every man had a commission from God and his conscience to speak out, and as God's ministers they could not refuse to speak, and be innocent (hear, hear). There was a time when their religion stood against it, but its influence had corrupted their piety, and gradually things had come to such a pass that the sin was deemed not incompatible with the purest piety. The Church had admitted the iniquity to her communion, and not having the vital force to purge it away, to expel it, had baptized it, put the sacramental robe upon it, and enthroned it as a household god. The pearl oyster, it was said, surrounded the cutting and irritating grains of sand that had got within its shell with an effusion from its own substance which hardened into pearl; and their religion, distressed by the enormity of slavery in the Church, yet powerless to exclude it, covered it with a cloak of piety and adopted it as a child of God. That the cross of Christ should thus be made the minister of sin was intolerable. To think of the unutterable shame of the Church of God becoming a pack-horse for this iniquity, an army of sappers and miners, blasters and builders to carry a military road for the Slave Power over even the Simplon of an outraged universal conscience! to think of the Church in so infamous an attitude and act as that of pander and procurer for the establishment of slavery as a providential missionary institute! In their partnership with this sin they had lost sight of its enormity. Give it an inch anywhere, and it would take an ell (hear, hear). He defended the Abolitionists from the accusation of violence, vituperation, fanaticism, and injurious persistency in their mode and frequency of the application of Divine truth to this wickedness, and [illegible] possibly speak in affectionate terms either of the sin or its supporters. Nothing but the Word of God, and the loud, impassioned, reiterated remonstrances of it in God's name, against the sin of slaveholding, would produce any effect, and the secret of the conflict as it raged against his particular Church, more than anywhere else, was simply and solely the avowed determination on their part, trusting in God, to keep up this battle as a religious battle, for the entire abolition of slavery (loud cheers). It was because they avowed themselves Abolitionists, and were determined to be nothing at all in this great cause if not that (hear, hear). This was called vituperation, ultraism, madness. They were content with this charge, knowing that they were not mad, but spoke forth the words of truth and soberness. After referring to the admirable rebuke recently administered by Lord Brougham to the American Ambassador, occasioned by the presence of a colored man at the Statistical Congress, and denouncing the insolence of Mr. Dallas in refusing a passport to an American lady because of the color of her skin, he said it was necessary on this great question to be outspoken. It had been said in effect that God, by giving them Africa, had made slavery inevitable, and that they were but his ministers in the execution of his will. The recklessness and diabolic grandeur of such ravings against the Most High, in casting upon him the authorship of this wickedness, carried this at least with them, that the sin was completed, and that the end was nigh (hear, hear). There was no describing the shame of aiding in the transmutation of human sensibilities into the habit of enduring and claiming, as under the approbation of a holy God, a system of inhuman and almost incredible atrocities, "the sum of all villanies," the insurance of the constant violation of every commandment in the Decalogue. Yet this was the very process now going on in the States, and men of rank and intelligence, of moral and political influence and acuteness, men of eloquence, "to make the worse appear the better reason," were instilling these doctrines, almost without rebuke, and entirely without shame, into the public mind. From the common range of immoral men giving way to temptation and betrayed into sin, they had become studied, educated moral monsters. How were these things to be resisted? Certainly not with affectionate words and loving courtesies, but by condemning and excommunicating them in the name of God, and applying to them exactly the terms of His own reprobation and wrath (applause). Then came the plea of vested rights, State rights, plantation rights, Church rights. Here were five millions of human beings voted to be merchandise. That was a nation. Was there a vested right of oppression over them? Who invested it? and with whom and by what covenant? on what agreement, and in whom residing? There was also the vested right of human freedom, and so sure as there was any machinery of cruelty, working and sanctified by men with their vested rights of robbery and murder in the profits, God had another providential machinery running on to meet it. Would to God that there was as clear and rapid sweep of justice with the crime of stealing a man as there was with that of stealing his pocket-book or signing his name! (Hear, hear.) But here the Church, with her vested right of refuge, as in the darkest ages, was in the way. A monk's cowl, a bishop's crozier and robes, once protected the vilest criminals; the profession of religion, membership in a Protestant Church, now protected the slaveholder and the iniquity of slaveholding from condemnation, as being a Christian sinner and a Christian sin, and until this enormity was put away from the Church there was no remedy against it (hear, hear). The preaching of the Gospel and the discipline of the Gospel must go together, and the Church must sustain a constant, persistent, pungent application of the truth by the ministry, demanding in God's name, by God's authority, the entire abolition of slavery. On this ground he took his stand with his Church, and they maintained that God's Word was to be applied against this sin and against those who were guilty of it, just as it was to be applied against adultery and murder. But in the midst of Churches where the holding of men as slaves was regarded as perfectly consistent with the Christian character, they could hardly conceive the rage and bitterness produced by such an application of Divine truth. This was their ultraism, fanaticism, imprudence; this was that violence and ferocity by which they were accused of doing infinite mischief to the cause of the enslaved. For himself and friends they declared that they had no other purpose in this conflict but the deliverance of those now held in bondage, just where they were thus held, and that they meant to apply the Word of God and the Constitution of their country for this object. They demanded, in God's name, the opening of the prison doors, and the letting of the oppressed go free, the breaking of every yoke from Virginia to Texas, and not merely an injunction levied against yokes in Oregon. Consistently with this view of duty, and their corresponding action, they defended the heroism of John Brown, and the right of that grand Christian patriot to trample on the wicked laws of Virginia, and to move for the deliverance and organized freedom of the slaves of that State. When they took that ground the rage, both of the pro-slavery Christian community and of opponents amongst themselves, was extreme. The leader of the recent and present effort against the Church, who up to that time had professed himself a friend, became openly an enemy, and declared that it was high time the abolition career of the Church was stopped. The latest news from this man and his coadjutors was the protest which they had published and sent to England against the appeal for British sympathy and aid. In that, they had the hardihood to declare that slavery had nothing to do with their present opposition. It was the independence of the Church, and its duty to sustain itself without aid, that they insisted upon, and their own mortification and shame in being placed by the Church in such a position. He was sure that this last attack would prove as bootless as the falsehoods they had previously circulated (hear, hear). Desiring that still more might be done towards combining all classes of Christians and of true-hearted Abolitionists in the onset against this sin, he said that they greatly needed the aid of England at a time of peril. They had been cheered and animated by the sympathy and aid received from their brethren in Scotland; the speeches of men like Dr. Candlish and Dr. Guthrie had been of incalculable importance, and though the expression of sympathy from Great Britain aroused a tempest of wrath in some quarters, and the very idea of receiving aid from England was repudiated by others with indignation and scorn, these things had drawn men's minds anew to the issues of the great cause for which they were battling, and had produced a new impression in regard to their resolute obstinacy in this sacred work. Their enemies from within had been worse by far than those without. Acting through the trustees, and in the Society, when baffled by the Church, they had attempted to sell the chapel, they had attempted to alter the title deeds of the Church property, so that the Church should have no more control over it, so as to cut off the revenue due from its annual assessed taxes, and so as to prevent those who held with the pastor and the majority from gaining the complete and undisturbed possession of their rights. These men had injured them by bold reiterated slanders, and where they could not be present to answer their misrepresentations, thither they had scattered their pamphlets through the press (loud applause).

The Rev. G. W. CONDER briefly moved, and the Rev. F. EDWARDS seconded the following resolution:

"That this meeting, in tendering a hearty welcome to the Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D., pastor of the Church of the Puritans, New York, United States, takes this opportunity of assuring him of its sympathy and esteem. Feeling deeply interested in the result of the great conflict in which he is engaged, and concurring with the principles he has so boldly proclaimed and maintained; admiring his devotion and self-sacrifice, we honor him for his fidelity, and pledge ourselves to render him support. Praying that Almighty God may crown his labors with success, and bless every instrumentality which has for its object the abolition of American slavery."

The Rev. Dr. BREWER moved a vote of thanks to the trustees for the use of the chapel.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON seconded the resolution, and after regretting that the resolution moved by Mr. Conder did not contain an expression of sympathy with the Church of the Puritans, as well as with Dr. Cheever personally, proceeded to vindicate the position of the Rev. gentleman, and to commend him and his Church to the support of the English public. In a brief and eloquent address, he denounced the evils of slavery and the complicity of the American Churches with this evil.

The resolution was carried.

Mr. CONDER explained that the expression of their sympathy with Dr. Cheever was as the pastor of his Church, and not as an individual. They certainly intended to include the Church as much as the pastor (applause).

The Rev. Dr. BREWER then took the chair, and on the motion of the Rev. W. [illegible]

Mr. BAINES acknowledged the compliment, and the meeting terminated.

THE CASE CLEARLY STATED.

LETTER FROM REV. HENRY BATCHELOR.

To the Editors of The Leeds Mercury.

GENTLEMEN: Now that Dr. Cheever has arrived in this country, will you allow me to say a word to your readers, respecting what I conceive to be the intention of his appearance amongst us? I have observed a disposition, in some quarters, to avoid inquiry into the battle which has been fought in the Church of the Puritans, and to treat Dr. Cheever simply as an earnest anti-slavery advocate. May I beg to state a few reasons why I think that that neutral course is impossible, unless we are prepared to wrong Dr. Cheever and injure ourselves. Dr. Cheever himself, his Church and his friends, declare that all the trouble in the Church of the Puritans is simply and exclusively the result of anti-slavery consistency. On the other hand, it is alleged by Churches, clergymen, and editors in New York, both in innuendo and violent assertion, that the unhappiness in the Church of the Puritans is not the product of upright anti-slavery agitation at all, but of unwise, uncharitable and virulent advocacy. As a part of the same declaration, it is affirmed, that plenty of clergymen in New York are as thorough and as sound in their advocacy as Dr. Cheever, although they have not excited by their modes similar hostility against themselves. This is very grave contrariety of assertion, and the most important interests are bound up with the acceptance or rejection of either side of the dispute. I do not see how we can escape from examining the facts and pronouncing a verdict.

In the first place, we cannot *ignore Dr. Cheever's own representations of his position*, whether they be true or false. If they be true, the facts, implications and consequences, are all of the most momentous import to British Abolitionists. If false, we are evidently bound to have nothing to do with a man who can so utterly misunderstand himself and his countrymen. Dr. Cheever's conflict either is or is not a revelation of the general apathy, inconsistency and hostility, in the American Church on the question of slavery, even amongst anti-slavery men. It is his most solemn belief that he is. If we expect him to be silent about it, we shall seem to treat him as an enthusiast, if not something worse.

In the second place, *to ignore his own representations of his position* will certainly place us in the ranks of his foes. The New York *Independent* has traduced Dr. Cheever as an accuser of the brethren, from the very fact that he professes a Christian simplicity and courage on this great question which they do not share. If we decline the investigation of his struggle, we must be supposed to consider Dr. Cheever greatly mistaken or untrue.

Thirdly, if Dr. Cheever be in the right, *to ignore his own representations of his position* will be to desert his cause—the cause of human freedom. Parties in New York, who wish to be thought in this country decided anti-slavery advocates, are most indefatigable in their endeavors to blind the people on this side of the water to what, according to Dr. Cheever himself, is the true nature of the conflict. The New York *Independent* has been "compassing sea and land" to make it appear that the warfare in Dr. Cheever's Church is not an anti-slavery engagement at all, but merely a side squabble off the main field altogether, and entirely accidental to the interests and issues of the cause of freedom; and has already favored us with its premature exultations at its imaginary success. Now, if Dr. Cheever's own claims be correct, the strife in the Church of the Puritans is the very hottest centre of the true battle-field, and his career is a public exposure of compromise in the clergy and complicity in the Church.

Fourthly, instead of honoring Dr. Cheever, we shall inflict grievous injury on him, if we *ignore his own representations of his position*. Whatever testimonial be presented to him, he will go back to America without any accession of strength from Great Britain, and will be weakened in his own eyes and the eyes of his foes for what he feels to be his great work for God and man. He needs all the moral support which we can give him, in his attempt to solve the problem, whether a thorough anti-slavery ministry can survive in New York city?

Now look at the other side. Suppose, for a moment, that Dr. Cheever's *own representations of his position* are, for any reason whatever, unreliable, we cannot ignore them, and say he is a sincere and eloquent advocate of emancipation, and we must honor him. If the disasters in his Church are wholly personal, and attributable to his peculiar mode of advocacy, we shall be doing wrong to invite him to our cities and towns. The next worst thing to making war on a good cause is to support an unwise and injurious advocate of that good cause. You provoke the real friends of the good cause, and disgust many whom you might win, if you uphold an imprudent and damaging advocate. It would be silly and wicked to lend the power of this country to any one because he is an earnest advocate of a good thing, unless he himself be a sober and conciliatory representative of our convictions. If Dr. Cheever has ruined and scattered a Church by unwise idiosyncracies, we shall inflict the deepest injury on the cause of freedom by our demonstrations on his behalf. To this adverse issue any person would be driven, if he believed the alternate flattery and blows bestowed by the New York *Independent* on Dr. Cheever. But its inconsistencies are too transparent to be hurtful. The cloak is not opaque enough to hide the weapon. It is well enough known that I fully believe in *Dr. Cheever's own representation of his position, and am persuaded that we ought to support him in it.* I shall frankly and cheerfully retract my published defence of Dr. Cheever, if any facts can be discovered to warrant it. Insult and falsehood are the only reply which have proceeded from the New York *Independent*. In one sense, I grant, that the unhappiness in the Church of the Puritans is a *personal* matter. When our Savior was marked out for destruction by the Jews—when Hebrew and heathen conspired against the Apostle Paul—when Wickliffe and Luther and Wesley were the aim of contemporary hatred, the conflict was necessarily and intensely personal. The warfare of moral principles is always incarnated in persons. When was it not so? To know where the principles lie you must study the personal struggle. These unhappy misunderstandings of the agents of our Home Missionary Society are personal affairs, but we shall all have to decide on their merits. *Principles* as well as *personalities* are included in all these *personal* conflicts. That the scene of the dispute is a long way off will not release us from the duty of taking one side or the other.

My friend, the Rev. George Smith, of Poplar, was reported to have said at the London meeting, that "he wished" Dr. Cheever "had time to visit all the leading towns in the country. * * * *Not to give a detail of personal wrongs, but to instruct fully the public mind of the country on the present state of slavery in the States.*" Taking the words as they stand, the New York *Independent* is very jubilant that Dr. Cheever's great work is to be passed by. I do not know how my friend intended the words which he uttered to be applied. If, however, Dr. Cheever's own convictions of his position be true, "*to give a detail of personal wrongs*," and "*to instruct fully the public mind of the country on the present state of slavery in the States*" are identical. To [illegible] American slavery in church and State, and to understand the friends and prospects of emancipation, we must hear Dr. Cheever's personal conflict. Every blow aimed at him by church-members, by clergymen, and by newspaper editors, inflicts wounds on freedom. Unless British Christians hear all that Dr. Cheever has to tell them of his personal troubles, they will remain ignorant of the foes whom they have to overcome, and of the obstructions which encumber the road to victory. Dr. Cheever can say nothing about American slavery — the men who uphold it, apologize for it, connive at it, and who shrink from confronting it—so important for us to know, as by giving us a minute account of the late history of his own Church. Of his trustworthiness, all of us have the means of judging. I belong to no anti-slavery party, but have simply studied Dr. Cheever's mission, for many months, collecting all the information which can be obtained from friends and foes alike, and I am persuaded that Dr. Cheever ought to be encouraged and entreated to detail his personal struggles wherever he goes. The *ruse* of the New York *Independent* may *amuse* but will not *direct* us.

I am, gentlemen, yours truly,
HENRY BATCHELOR.

Glasgow, Sept. 29, 1860.

INSURRECTIONARY PANICS AT THE SOUTH. [illegible] IN MISSISSIPPI.

Correspondence of The Central (Miss.) Enquirer.

PLATTSBURGH, Winston Co., Miss.,
Monday, October 1, 1860.

GREAT excitement has prevailed in this place and surrounding country for a few days past, in consequence of the discovery of insurrectionary plans among the negroes. As it appears from the information we have been able to gather, that these plots of rebellion are not confined to this immediate neighborhood, but are widely spread over the whole Southern country, a meeting of the citizens of this place and vicinity, on the 30th ult., requested the undersigned to make known to the public, through the columns of your paper, the most important facts connected with the recently discovered plot, that all may receive timely warning to keep a sharp lookout—to make close investigations, and provide the necessary means for their future safety.

On Friday morning, the 20th ult., Mr. C. D. Kelly chastised his cook-woman, for some ordinary misdemeanor. The negro proposed to reveal an important secret to Mr. Kelly if he would desist. He did so, and the girl informed him that the negroes of the whole adjacent country, in concert with certain white men, were engaged in planning and preparing for a general insurrection; that poison was circulated among all the negroes of the neighborhood—produced some poison that had been given her for the purpose of destroying her owner and his family—stated that the time for commencing action was not far distant—that her own husband was well informed of the plans of operation, and various less important facts. Mr. Kelly, thinking it necessary to prevent any alarm getting out among the negroes, in order to make further investigation successful, quickly called on some five or six responsible and sober-thinking gentlemen, and with them visited successively, most of the plantations in the neighborhood. At all these places, this company took up negroes and chastised them without questioning or giving them any intimation what the chastisement was for, but leaving it entirely to their own conscience to suggest it. Under these circumstances, during the 28th, a considerable number of the negroes were examined, and those that were induced to make confessions, told in substance the same story, with no further variations than that some negroes were more deeply informed of the facts of the conspiracy than others. It was confessed by all, that there was on foot among the negroes, in concert with and under the guidance of certain white men, a plan for the destruction of the white people in this and surrounding country, to as great an extent as the informants were able to have any knowledge of. The time and means for commencing active operations in this design, was to be on the morning of election day (the general election, we suppose), when, with strychnine, arsenic, and various other vegetable poisons, the cooks were to poison the breakfast meal, coffee, water, etc., and thus kill as many as possible, of men, women and children, promiscuously; after this the houses were to be fired, and the remaining males killed by pistols, guns, knives and swords, which were to be supplied by these white conspirators.

During the night of the 28th, some thirty other negroes were arrested, and examined on the day following. These gave information corroborative of that already obtained, having the same white conspirators, the same time for commencing action, and the same means for attaining their designs.

We do not think proper to publish, as yet, the names of all the whites who were impeached by the negroes in this matter; but there is one whom we feel it our bounden duty to place before the public. This is one G. Harrington, a Northern man by birth and education, and a travelling ambrotypist by occupation, who came to this place some time in the month of May last, and during his stay of some two months, was seen in intercourse with negroes, frequently, and at suspicious times and places; but let that pass. The negro informants unanimously assert that he was the original instigator of the insurrectionary movements at this place, and their frequent adviser. We are happy to state that we have heard that Harrington is now under arrest in the town of Philadelphia, and will soon be conducted to this place for examination.

In consequence of these troubles, a large meeting of the citizens took place, in this town, on the 30th ult., for the purpose of devising means for carrying these investigations further, and providing for our future safety. At this meeting a Vigilance Committee, consisting of twenty-five men, was appointed, whose duty it is to search for and obtain all facts that have occurred and have not been brought forward to light, or may hereafter transpire, and deliver such information to a Council of twelve men, appointed for the purpose of receiving and deliberating, and acting on said information, and all other evidence that may come before them, having a bearing on the recent movement. This Council is to meet weekly, or oftener, if necessary, alone, together, and receive the reports

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of the Vigilance Committee. Knowing well that the law is too tardy in its course, even if it could be effectual in its process, to obviate the dangers and punish the offenders in troubles of this character, the meeting unanimously committed to the Council the power of passing sentence of punishment or acquittal, according to the evidence brought before it, on all persons, black or white, that may be impeached before it, of aiding or abetting in insurrectionary plans or movements, heretofore or hereafter.

Hoping that you will give as much publicity to these statements as is in your power, by sending copies of your paper to every county in the State, and by requesting other papers to copy, we are, yours, etc.

P. B. DUGAN,
J. M. CLARK,
E. QUARLES.

P. S. A friend writing from Louisville, under a recent date, adds this postscript:

"Great excitement at Plattsburg, or Fort Groul, in this county. One negro hung, and, probably, an abolition artist, and, possibly, one or more of our citizens. I do not know the particulars. Poison and powder among the negroes."

CONSPIRACY IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

DISCOVERY OF ARMS—TWO CITIZENS OF NEW YORK ARRESTED.

From The Columbia South Carolinian.

We learn that startling developments have been made in Marlborough, and the whole community thrown into a state of great excitement. Two citizens of Western New York have been arrested, who had under their care a large stand of arms. They were searched, and invoices found calling for another lot, amounting in all, as we are informed, to about twelve hundred. The arms were consigned to parties in Wilmington, to which a gentleman had been sent to make investigations, and to secure others who may be implicated. Their complicity and direct agency were so thoroughly established that they were committed to jail. The feeling was so intense that it was with great difficulty that their violent seizure and immediate execution could be prevented. Judge Whitner, who was holding court there, interposed, and finally succeeded in staying the feeling and reserving them as victims for more legal procedure. The public mind of the North has been so wrought up by the declamation of Republican orators, that these missionaries of social subversion may doubtless be found in every Southern community. Whenever arrested, they should not be left to the slow process of law. The vigilant societies should seize them, give them a fair trial, and, if the circumstances convict them of complicity in designs of such atrocity, should mete out to them punishment prompt, summary and extreme.

At Clio, S. C., on the 10th instant, two men, named Hitchings, were arrested under circumstances that led to the belief that they were abolition incendiaries, and that a Vigilance Committee had been organized to investigate the matter. Early the next day a large crowd assembled at Bennettsville, anxiously anticipating the result. Between ten and eleven o'clock the Committee from Clio, with the suspected parties, arrived in the Court House square. The Court was in session. The crowd eagerly pressed around to hear the report, which was to the effect that ample proof had been elicited to convict the accused. Upon this announcement the wildest excitement ensued. The cry arose, "Hang them—hang them to the nearest tree!" But more moderate councils finally prevailed, and a further and fuller examination was determined upon. Among the papers and correspondence of the prisoners were found invoices of double and single barrel guns, pistols, revolvers, bowie knives, balls, cartridges, caps, powder, shot, etc., to the amount of a little over $1,200, bought by Hitchings from J. Merwin, agent of the Hartford Fire Arms Manufacturing Company, in New York, on the 30th of July last. Every item was priced, the sums extended, and the column added up, but there was no receipt at the bottom, or indication whether the articles were paid for by note or cash. There were also among the papers letters of introduction and recommendation to railroad companies, setting forth that Hitchings was an experienced railroad contractor—that he had had various extensive contracts, all of which he had faithfully and satisfactorily performed. These letters purported to be signed by railroad presidents in New York and elsewhere. One was signed by a Mr. Hunt, of New York, a president of some railroad company. The two Hitchings are father and son—the former between fifty and sixty years of age, the latter, perhaps, about twenty. The elder Hitchings is an Englishman, was naturalized in 1838, and has lived mostly in the State of New York. He came to Pekin, in Montgomery County, N. C., about 1856, where he has resided since. He was there at and before the date of some of the above letters; and it [illegible] that when he first came, and ever since, he has lived in great poverty. [illegible] at Pekin, as a negro trader, that he was severely whipped by the citizens of that place some eighteen months or two years ago. After that, he left his family at that place and put up a small wagon-maker's shop at Floral College, and at the time of his arrest was about putting up another little shop of the same kind at Clio, in Marlboro' District. It is well known, both at Pekin and Floral College, that he had no ostensible means to pay for any part of these invoices.

The only explanation Hitchings offers is, that he has a son whose occupation is to escort emigrants from St. Louis, or some other point in Missouri, across the Plains to Santa Fe, New Mexico, etc., and that the arms and ammunition were intended for him.

The old man assumes to be as deaf and stoical as old John Brown, but his son shows great concern and appears to be in great trepidation.

Clio is near the spot marked in Marlboro' District on old John Brown's maps. This is a significant fact.

Later.—The Charleston *Mercury* of the 17th says: "From Cheraw we learn that the two Hitchings, concerning whose arrest and trial as abolition incendiaries a full account was published in the *Mercury* of Saturday, had been duly convicted and sentenced to be hung on Friday next. Additional and crushing evidence had been adduced to prove their complicity in an insurrectionary plot, and this sealed their doom. At last accounts, 'Minute-Men' were actively forming in Cheraw and the vicinity."

NEGRO PLOT IN VIRGINIA.

The Norfolk (Va.) papers of Saturday, Oct. 6, give the most dolorous accounts of the discovery of a negro plot. The people of Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties seem to be terribly alarmed at the prospect of a general servile insurrection. The Norfolk *Argus* says:

"Several negroes have been arrested in Princess Anne, and their confessions (though in some cases extorted) have developed the same story, and led to further arrests. The confessions show that a rising was contemplated at Hickory Ground, in Norfolk County, to-morrow (Sunday) night, and that the matter was instigated by free persons, some of them free negroes. Two arrests have been made in Norfolk city, and the trail is fully struck.

"The citizens of the two counties have resorted to vigilant measures to suppress this vile conspiracy, and to detect all offenders of all colors. Active patrols have been organized—and gone to work. We advise all suspected white persons to quit the parts 'between two days.' On Thursday night a white man named Flynn was shot dead by a patrol party in Norfolk County, on the line of the canal, about seventeen miles from Portsmouth. There were several men engaged in ditching; and they were camping out in that neighborhood. The place was suspected, and their tent visited by the patrol for a search. When the patrol approached the tent, and hailed, the man Flynn came out and aimed his gun at Mr. Warner, one of the party; but before he could fire, he was shot dead by another of the party. At the same moment a negro darted from the tent and escaped into the woods. A free negro named Dick Smith, has been shot also; he, however, is not dead. We understand that he was shot while running from some gentlemen who were endeavoring to arrest him for some incendiary expression that he had used. Ten negroes are said to be in custody in Princess Anne, and two in Norfolk City."

The Norfolk *Day Book*, of Saturday evening, has the following:

"We continue to receive information from the surrounding country of the most intense excitement among the people. They are thoroughly aroused and generally incensed, and the leading gentlemen of the two counties have taken hold of the matter with a determination to probe it to the bottom. Almost all with whom we have conversed are fully impressed with the conviction that another raid was on foot, or at least that an extensive Underground Railroad scheme has been broken up by its timely discovery. It is a little singular that these operations should have commenced in the county in which Governor Wise resides, and it is supposed that the mad fanatics who had the direction of this movement had some design on him and family, for the firm and decided stand he took in the capture and execution of John Brown. Everything is wrapped in mystery as yet, but will be fully developed before it is done with.

"A free negro named John Whitehurst, who was committed to jail this morning by Justice Gibson, informed that gentleman that a plan of operations had been maturing ever since last spring, and that a free negro named Dick Ryan had written to the North and engaged the services of parties there who were to arrive at Old Point or Norfolk this evening in a vessel, with arms and men, who were to assist in the liberation of our slaves to-morrow (Sunday) night. Upon the reception of this information, four as respectable gentlemen as can be found in Norfolk County, addressed a letter to Mayor Lamb, who will take the necessary steps towards the development of the scheme, and the arrest of the vessel should it arrive on our coast."

The Norfolk *Argus* of Saturday, 13th, says: "The examination of negroes suspected of insurrectionary designs will take place on the 5th of November. We are indebted to a gentleman who arrived from Princess Anne last evening for the following information: It has been ascertained that the extent of the conspiracy extends from Currituck, N. C., through Gibbs' Woods, Blackwater, Great Bridge, and all the district southwest of North River and the Chesapeake and Albemarle canal. Every kind of instruments that could be procured was to be used on the occasion, such as pickaxes, pitchforks, etc. One of the magistrates issued a warrant yesterday for a white man named Thomas Carroll, suspected of inciting the negroes to insurrection. There are about 21 negroes in jail, their ages running from 20 to 70. The surrounding country is under patrol day and night, and a strict guard is kept on the jail. The free negroes, it is thought, will be required to leave the country at short notice."

A letter from Currituck, C. H., N. C., addressed to a gentleman in this city, dated Oct. 8, says:

"There is a tremendous excitement out here in consequence of an intended insurrection of the negroes. The jail here is full; and they are constantly bringing them in. It is a good thing that the scheme has been nipped in the bud, or it might have proved fatal to a good many white people. A good deal of information has been obtained from the prisoners concerning their plans of operation."

The Petersburgh *Express* of Saturday says: "Three negro men, two of them slaves to Mr. M. L. Spencer, and the other owned by Mr. John A. Johns, were convicted at the County Court of Lunenburg, held this week, of an attempt to poison the family of Mr. Spencer, and sentenced to be hung on Friday, the 9th day of November next. The slave of Mr. Johns has a wife at the residence of Mr. Spencer, and thus he became implicated in the diabolical plot. The effort to kill was arranged by placing a strong concoction of some poisonous herb or plant into a basin of milk. The peculiar odor of the poison proved to be so strong that the suspicions of those for whom it was intended were aroused before the milk was drank, and to this circumstance are they doubtless indebted for the preservation of their lives."

THE RECENT ALARM IN TEXAS.

The following is an extract of a letter to a prominent firm in this city from a highly respectable merchant in Texas, who had recently returned from the North, dated Collins County, Sept. 27:

"DEAR SIRS: I arrived here last evening, and to my great satisfaction found everything quiet and easy. The rumor that had gone abroad, intimating the burning of so many towns and the hanging of so many men, I am correctly informed, is untrue. Henderson, Dallas, Denton and Fort Belknap, are the only towns in which fires have occurred. The corn and wheat crop turned out much better than was anticipated, and the late rain has greatly improved the range. Marketable stock will be in good condition in due time. In fact, we are far better off than you doubtless imagine."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1860.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

DONATIONS.

IN accordance with our usual custom at this season we make an appeal to the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society for the payment of pledges made during the year, or for any donations they may now be disposed to contribute to its funds. Letters may be addressed to Francis Jackson, Boston, or S. H. Gay, New York.

SOWING AND REAPING.

THERE is no Harvest without a Seedtime. Every crop, whether of grapes or of thorns, of figs or of thistles, comes of the husbandry of culture or of neglect. The wheat and the tares confess the hand of the Sower or of the Enemy. As with the fruits and the weeds of the earth, so with the returns of wise labor, of slothful neglect or of active malice in the field of the world. There is no noble reformation, there is no slavish submission or ignominious reaction, that does not owe its planting to the forecast, the negligence or the malignity of human agency. We see at this moment resolute endeavors to reëstablish the African slave trade. To reëstablish it as a legitimate branch of commerce, we mean—for it is already on as firm a footing as ample capital reaping fabulous returns can place any branch of traffic. The slave trade has never ceased from off the seas, and the slave-traders have willingly compounded for the infamy with which their commerce is branded by the common consent of Christendom in view of the bloated profits which the monopoly that very infamy secures them pours into their coffers. And now an open and avowed agitation is set on foot in the cotton States for the reopening of the trade in slaves and the souls of men to all adventurers, to take away the profit of the smuggler and restore the business to the open competition of the fair trader, so that these articles of commerce may rule at such prices in the markets of the South as the laws of an unfettered free trade shall dictate. This state of things would not have been believed had a prophet told of it a quarter of a century ago. And yet its remote beginnings might be discerned even then.

For it must be remembered that the embargo which was put upon the trade in Africans was not entirely the result of a pure philanthropy. The consent of the breeding States, which was essential to the prohibition, sprung from no objections to the estate of negro slavery, nor yet to the buying and selling of negro slaves. The Patriarchs of the Old Dominion were moved mainly to their coöperation with the sincerer philanthropists of the North by the trading instinct which loves the monopoly of markets where it can secure one. To them the abolition of the slave trade was simply a Prohibitory Tariff shutting out the foreign article in favor of their own Domestic Manufactures. No moral objection, therefore, can exist in those States to the rehabilitation of the foreign slave trade, though a very strong selfish politico-economical one unquestionably does. And at the North, ever since slavery became the main topic of political and ecclesiastical agitation, the tendency of political and religious influences has been to undermine and weaken the grounds of the hereditary abhorrence of the slave trade derived from our fathers. The anti-slavery agitation was met in the Churches and ecclesiastical bodies by Scriptural arguments, urged by eminent divines and theological professors, showing that slavery was not a condition inconsistent with the Christian religion and that slaveholders were not deserving of excision from Christ's body because of their slaveholding. Professor Stuart and President Lord staked their characters as theologians and as men of sense on the orthodoxy of the doctrine that men might be made to work without wages, and to hold their wives and children at the pleasure of another man. And so loudly did they rattle the dice and mouth out that the game was theirs, that it is not yet clear to many minds that they have lost their stakes. But every year will make it plainer and more plain.

Then the politicians took up the chorus and chanted the hymns of liberty to a clanking accompaniment of chains. Some feeble protestations were attempted from time to time by politicians who thought that the North star might by possibility have some influence upon their course; but they meant nothing, and were soon drowned in the more earnest and fiercer declamations of the slave-drivers. Bullyings and bribings compelled or won the consent of the timeserving and the timid. Real or pretended apprehensions for the Union and the lying promise of the Presidency for Mr. Webster made the Old Whig party which had made good anti-slavery talk enough on paper and in breath, wheel into line as one man to defend the entrenchment of slavery thrown up in 1850, and all the parsonry of the North invoked the blessing of Heaven upon the work. The result of twenty years of discussion of the slavery question, in and out of Congress, after various ebbings and flowings of the heady current of the fight, was, that the North had no concern in the matter and that the seal of eternal silence was to be set upon the public speech of the nation as to slavery. Then came the slaveholding breach of faith to Mr. Webster, which brought him to a death at once ridiculous and melancholy, and did his party to death at the same time. Then followed the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas villany, the Dred Scott decision, and, to name small things with great, the attempt to galvanize the Old Whig party into a paralytic life again in the Bell and Everett faction. In its apostasy in 1850 it had rid itself of every rag of anti-slavery pretension which it had to its back, and it has hardly ventured to weave even a plausible tissue of lies wherewith to cover its nakedness. It has shown that it never had, in its governing influences, any anti-slavery principles whatever, and that in base prostration to the slave-mastery it ever was, as it still is, more abject and more slavish than its Democratic rival.

Such having been the teachings of the Church and the State and such their practical result, is it at all strange that the foreign slave-traders should again seek to be readmitted to an equality with the honorable merchants who supply the necessaries and luxuries of mankind? Their demand is perfectly logical, arguing from the premises admitted by the clergymen and by the statesmen of the land. It being strictly according to gospel as well as to law to hold slaves, all the laws necessary to the condition of slaveholding follow as the night the day, and the law of demand and supply among the rest. If St. Paul had no ill opinion of Roman slavery, as is inferred from his expressing none when he sent back Onesimus to be entreated like a brother beloved by Philemon, it may be inferred that he saw no objection to the trade in philosophers, physicians, comic writers, rhetoricians, as well as in the more vulgar class of bondmen which was the most flourishing of all kinds of traffic in his time. If Christ himself is to be supposed to have accepted slavery as a matter with which he had no concern because he did not directly condemn it by name, he certainly may be supposed to have accepted, along with it, the capture, importation and sale of the objects of that slavery. So if the Pundits of our Political Science see nothing in slavery itself inconsistent with the ideas of the Revolution and the theory of free institutions, they must be strangely illogical if they object to the importation of slaves, which is demanded by the interests of the slaveholding class, as essentially immoral and mischievous. The condition of the public mind, then, at the North and South which has made this demand for the opening of the slave trade afresh a possible thing, is distinctly and fairly to be traced to the false religion and morality taught by the American pulpit and the American Congress as to slavery, for many years past.

The actual reëstablishment of the foreign slave trade, by the connivance of the United States authorities in the States where it is practised and the open consent of all the inhabitants thereof, springs naturally and necessarily from the grounds on which the existence of slavery at all is there put—grounds, to the assumption of which the slaveholders have been driven by the pressure of anti-slavery antagonism. So the state of mind at the North which regards this enormity without righteous anger and makes even a great religious body like the Convention of this Diocese refuse to censure it, though ships engaged in it were fitting out almost within hearing of its debates, this too arises from the corrupt and corrupting doctrines with which Doctors in Divinity and men high in civil trust have infected the minds and hearts of the Northern people. The Reaping is but according to the [illegible] gloomy picture. True as all this is as to the effects of such teachings on the weaker and baser sorts of minds, it is equally true that there has been teaching of a very opposite nature which is gradually counteracting them. Tares only have not been sown; wheat, also, has been seeded broadcast, and as it springs up it will overgrow and smother the sowings of the Enemy. This very virulence of pro-slavery venom has been developed, not created, by the wise efforts to cure and extirpate it. Truth has been scattered abroad as well as error, and we see the promise of the harvest on every side. It is not indeed yet ripe for the sickle. It is yet but green and in the blade; but it will never wither nor die, but bring forth good grain a hundred-fold. The present condition of the country is a sign full of promise. An election impends of which slavery is the only dividing issue. The nation is severed strictly by sectional lines. The next President, according to all appearances, will be elected solely by Northern votes, and by votes which would not have been had not the anti-slavery agitation gone before them. His election will not be an anti-slavery triumph; but it will be an anti-slavery work. He will do all that the Constitution requires for the support of slavery. He will return fugitives, he will put down insurrection, he will maintain the political privileges of slaveholding. But his presence in the national palace is a result of long anti-slavery labors. An imperfect one, it is true, but one which should hearten us to fresh endeavors to secure a more blessed Reaping by a more faithful and industrious Sowing.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER AND DR. CHEEVER.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, the official organ of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, judging from its recent course, would seem to be under some malign influence in regard to Dr. Cheever. Culpably eager to give currency to whatever may tend to disparage that devoted champion of freedom in the eyes of its readers, it appears to be shamefully reluctant to let them see any refutation of the calumnies so constantly heaped upon his head. In *The Reporter* for February last was an article headed, in large capitals, "The Negro Pew in Dr. Cheever's Church." That article commenced, "We regret to have to call attention to the existence of the Negro Pew in Dr. Cheever's Church." Then followed a letter signed "Rochussen," complaining of the treatment the writer's servant had received at the hands of some member of the congregation worshipping in the Church of the Puritans. In the March number of the same publication appeared an extract from *The New York Times* of the 18th of January, and another from *The New York Observer* of the 19th, each accusing Dr. Cheever of having had "a slaveholder in his Church, *whom he knew to be one*, with whom he was on terms of close personal friendship, and whose money he was willing to receive for his support, and to whom he gave a letter of dismission as a member in good and regular standing." The editor of *The Reporter*, who is also the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, considered that he "*only followed the clear course of duty in republishing*" these calumnies, because "*they formed the subject of articles in the newspapers and were public property.*" A brief paragraph from THE STANDARD, contradicting this calumny on the authority of Dr. Cheever, was copied in *The Reporter* for May, side by side with a paragraph about the Church of the Puritans, evidently intended to embarrass Miss Johnstone in her efforts to collect funds in England. In the meanwhile appeared a letter addressed by Dr. Cheever to his friends in Edinburgh, branding the libel above mentioned as "*a tissue of absolute falsehoods*," but though this letter was published, and widely circulated, not a single word of it appeared in *The Reporter*. Lastly, came the repetition of the stale lie in the columns of *The Independent* on the very eve of Dr. Cheever's departure for England, and Dr. Cheever's denunciation of it in his farewell address, published in *The Tribune*, and which, we have reason to believe, was brought under the special attention of the editor of *The Reporter*; yet, will it be believed that when the September number of that print appeared, it did not contain the slightest allusion, either to the emphatic contradiction given by Dr. Cheever himself to the calumnious vituperations of his pro-slavery adversaries, or to the triumphant vindications of his friends. It did not even contain the letter of Mr. Rochussen, which had been sent with an urgent request that it might instantly appear in the same publication that had contained his former injurious statement. At length the silence of *The Reporter* is broken by the appearance of a short article in THE STANDARD on the 8th of September, which the editor first copies and then comments upon as follows:

"We regret that the editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD should imagine that the presence of the Rev. Dr. Cheever in London was necessary to 'quicken' our sense of justice. The letter read at the 1st of August meeting arrived in London only a few hours before the meeting at Spafields chapel was held, and might have been kept back, if the editor of *The Reporter* had been actuated by the mere 'affectation of a desire' to let both sides of the question be known. The 'calumnies' to which the editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD refers were not published simply upon the evidence of New York journals. The facts were made known to us by one of the oldest of Dr. Cheever's supporters, who was then in London, and from whom we held much more than we considered it desirable to publish, on the subject of the dissensions in Dr. Cheever's Church. With respect to the case of the slaveholder, we have placed in the hands of a mutual friend, certain duly-attested documents relating to this matter, preferring—at least for a time—to submit to what we know to be a false charge, to giving publicity to evidence which would not only justify the position we have taken but would probably be considered sufficiently conclusive to warrant our taking very decided ground. As, however, Dr. Cheever will himself have the opportunity of meeting his opponents, we leave the matter for the present. Dr. Cheever has no firmer friend in England than ourselves, and we are quite satisfied that he is perfectly well able to refute any 'calumny' that the editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD conceives has been promulgated against him. In the matter of the negro servant, there was none. Our friend exonerated Dr. Cheever at the time, but in sending his communication, he specially requested its immediate insertion; and, as we had reason to place implicit confidence in him, we complied with his request."

We wish *The Reporter* had given us the name of the person whom it describes as "one of the oldest of Dr. Cheever's supporters," and to whose calumnies it gave so ready an ear. We are reluctant to impeach the sincerity of the editor in claiming to be one of the "firmest friends" of Dr. Cheever, but we confess our inability to reconcile with the obligations of friendship the public declaration by *The Reporter* that it is in possession of "duly-attested documents" that would warrant it in "taking very decided ground" against him. It would be more manly, it strikes us, to print the "documents" than thus to deal in vague insinuations. We suspect the "documents" alluded to are those which were introduced to the American public, some time since, by *The New York Observer*, a journal with which *The Reporter* should blush to find itself in coöperation. Dr. Cheever was in London from the 28th of July to the 10th of August—eleven days. Why did not the editor, instead of putting away his "duly-attested documents" as so much ammunition to be held in reserve, and publicly referring to them in a way calculated to excite unfriendly suspicions, take them to Dr. Cheever and give him an opportunity to defend himself from the calumnies by which his enemies were seeking to poison the minds of the Abolitionists of Great Britain? We are certainly under some mistake as to the legitimate and proper function of an Anti-Slavery Secretary and Editor, if among his duties is that of fishing up from the columns of pro-slavery prints the slanders by which the enemies of the cause always endeavor to destroy the influence of its friends, or of keeping an open ear for whispering backbiters, who, having no standing as Abolitionists at home, assume an anti-slavery mask on going abroad, that they may the more effectually do their work as catspaws of the cottonocracy which rules the American Churches. Among the subscribers to the funds of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are not a few who feel a hearty sympathy for Dr. Cheever and a disposition to aid his struggling Church. We ask these faithful friends of freedom if they are willing that the organ of the Society should be employed in the service of his enemies?

When the editor of *The Reporter* exposed the pro-slavery character of "Kirwan," incurring thereby his malignant abuse, we were not slow to commend him for his fidelity to the cause; and we deeply regret that it has become our duty to speak as above of his course in regard to Dr. Cheever. The character of the paragraph copied above from *The Reporter*, viewed in the light of antecedent circumstances and facts, appears to us not only to justify but require this strong expression of our views.

JUSTICE VINDICATED.

THE lawsuit, in which the parties litigant were the friends and the opponents of Dr. Cheever, is decided at last, and in favor of the former. The suit originated thus: At the annual meeting of the Society of the Church of the Puritans, held on the 12th of March last, an election was held for three members of the Board of Trustees. Two tickets were put forward, one composed of three pronounced supporters of Dr. Cheever, the other, of three gentlemen desirous of removing him from the pastorate; the supporters of the latter, however, masking their design under professions of personal regard and admiration, and emphasizing only their opposition to the "British Mission," in the hope of thereby securing the votes of a few of Dr. Cheever's friends, who, it was understood, had doubted the expediency of that measure. The plot thus artfully contrived, however, did not succeed so well as the opponents of Dr. Cheever expected, his friends being too vigilant. The statute required the appointment by the Society of two of the Board of Deacons to act as judges of the election—in other words, to settle any dispute that might arise as to who was and who was not legally entitled to vote. One of Dr. Cheever's opponents, getting the floor promptly, nominated as judges two deacons in favor of removing him from the pastorate, and they were appointed. They took their place at the table, and the balloting proceeded. The judges exercised their authority, we will not say unfairly, but certainly not with undue favor to the supporters of Dr. Cheever. When the ballots came to be counted, it was found that the ticket favorable to Dr. Cheever was elected, though by a small majority, some of his friends, who thought themselves entitled to vote, not having been allowed to do so. The judges, as they were bound to do, declared the result, and it was recorded in due form by the clerk.

This result bitterly disappointed the enemies of Dr. Cheever, and they at once set themselves to devise some scheme for turning their defeat into a victory. The law required the judges to furnish the persons elected with certificates of the fact; but, allowing themselves to be swayed by party feeling, they not only refused to do this, but even proceeded to certify the election of two of the defeated candidates, justifying themselves upon the pretence that some of the ballots cast for the other side were illegal. The evidence on which this pretence was set up was not only *ex parte*, but was manufactured for the purpose. The parties whose election had been declared and recorded thereupon applied for a peremptory mandamus, to compel the slippery deacons to give them the certificates to which they were legally entitled. The question did not reach a final decision till last Saturday, when Judge Ingraham granted the motion of the plaintiffs. The Judge, after rebuking the evasions which characterized the plea of the defendants, said:

"After the ballots were received by the inspectors, without challenge or objection, their right to inquire into the character of the voters ceased. The only duty that remained for them to perform, was to count such ballots, and return the number of votes received, and the names of those having the greatest number.

"It would be idle to attempt to conduct any election by ballot, if, after the election was closed, the inspectors could, when they ascertained who had the greatest number of votes, institute an inquiry whether any of those who voted for the successful party were legal voters, and in this way change the result of the election. If such a course could be declared legal, there would be few elections at the present day which might not be affected by such a proceeding. The mere statement of the proposition carries its answer on the face of it.

"I think the motion must be granted. The conduct of the respondents in evading a proper return renders it proper that a peremptory mandamus should issue. Nor is there any doubt about the propriety of such an order, from what may be inferred from the return itself, namely, that they did count the votes received by them, and that the relators had the largest number. The subsequent proceedings to reduce that number were illegal; and if there were more votes in the box than had been received, it was too late for the inspectors to remedy the matter after the ballots were counted. The remedy was in a different proceeding."

Our friends on the other side of the water may infer from this how desperate and unscrupulous is the war waged against Dr. Cheever, and how important it is that he should have their sympathy and aid. Why, even this lawsuit, to which his friends were reluctantly compelled to resort for the protection of their rights, has been made by his enemies the ground of an appeal against him both at home and abroad, as if it were evidence of a bad spirit in them—an attack upon "men of known Christian character and integrity"!! They were bound, it would seem from this, to suffer themselves to be defrauded of their seats in the Board of Trustees, out of regard for the reputation of the deacons, who might suffer in the public estimation if the case were brought to the attention of a Court!

THE PRESIDENTIAL STRUGGLE.

THE Presidential election would seem to be already decided. The large Republican majorities in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, carried dismay into the ranks of the other parties. The attempt to bring about a fusion between the Breckinridge, Douglas and Bell forces in this State, in order to wrest its 35 electoral votes from Lincoln and thus defeat an election by the people, has proved an utter failure; at least such is the testimony of Bennett's *Herald*, which has exerted all its power in behalf of the scheme. This is what it says:

"We have been laboring very earnestly to rally together all the conservative elements of this State, as in the desperate charge of a forlorn hope, to defeat Lincoln. But there are no responses of encouragement. Our commercial fellow-citizens hesitate to raise the wind. * * * The day for the redemption of New York has gone by. She will vote for Lincoln, and if by a majority equal to the whole population of Kansas, it will not surprise us. There is no genuine fusion between the Breckinridge and Douglas factions. The breach has widened between them since these late elections. The Regency are trying hard to get money from the merchants of this city, for the ostensible purpose of using it in the good cause in the interior of the State. But a burnt child dreads the fire. The fools who gave their spare dollars for the Pennsylvania election, now repent of their folly, and say they will not be so easily caught a second time."

The election of Lincoln seems to us as certain as any future political event; and it looks now as if he might get every electoral vote of the free States, for the latest news from Oregon and California is that those States are likely to go for him. The electoral votes of the South will be cast solid against him, and it will not be surprising if Breckinridge should get them all; for the South, since she has found that Douglas and Bell have no power to resist the tide of Republicanism at the North, begins to see the importance of presenting, herself, a united front. It is reported that in the States (Kentucky, Maryland and Tennessee especially) which, for a time, were deemed almost sure for Bell, the importance of a united South is so distinctly felt that voters are rapidly going over to Breckinridge. It is manifest that the arch demagogue, Stephen Arnold Douglas, cannot get even one electoral vote. What an example of righteous retribution that will be!

The Southern papers fume and bluster over the prospect, many of them going so far as to declare that the election of Lincoln will be the signal for a dissolution of the Union. Some of them, doubtless, mean what they say, but, for the most part, this sort of talk is only intended to alarm timid men at the North and thus defeat Lincoln, or, failing of that, to frighten him and his advisers into some concessions for the sake of averting the threatened revolution. The amount of anti-slavery in the Republican platform, giving it the most favorable interpretation, is certainly small enough; let us at least hope that Mr. Lincoln will not fall below what it requires.

DR. CHEEVER IN ENGLAND.

From our own Correspondent.

DR. CHEEVER is now in Leeds, and is doing a good anti-slavery work there. On the evening of the 1st inst. he delivered a most eloquent discourse in the splendid edifice originally erected for the Rev. Dr. Winter Hamilton, one of the most popular preachers in the Independent body. The eloquence of your American divine produced a profound impression, and deepened the feeling against slavery for which the people of this part of England are remarkable. This great County was many years represented in Parliament by William Wilberforce, who, when first elected, was returned at the head of the poll free of expense. For the second seat there was a contest between two noble Yorkshire houses, each desiring the election of its own scion. The expenditure, on their part, was estimated to amount to £250,000. In 1830, Lord Brougham, then known as "Harry" Brougham, was elected to fill the place of Mr. Wilberforce, and I have several times heard his Lordship say that he esteemed the honor then conferred upon him the greatest of his life. It is no matter of wonder, therefore, that in such a locality Dr. Cheever has been warmly received, and his radical abolition sentiments heartily responded to.

On the evening of the 3d Dr. Cheever made his second appearance in another large chapel, to deliver an address in behalf of the Church of the Puritans. Edward Baines, Esq., the much-respected representative of Leeds, and an earnest Abolitionist, occupied the chair. Mr. George Thompson, in seconding one of the resolutions, expressed his regret that there had not been placed before the meeting, in addition to a resolution of sympathy with Dr. Cheever, another, with distinct and explicit reference to the noble Church of which the Doctor was the pastor—tendering to the members of that Church an expression of admiration and thanks for their exemplary courage and fidelity in the fiery trial through which the Church, with their pastor, had been called to pass, and exhorting them to a continued and unfaltering maintenance of the position they had assumed, in dependence upon the justice of their cause, the sympathy and liberality of the friends of the slave in this country, and the blessing of God—who would assuredly give a triumph, ultimately, to the labors of those who upheld the authority of His law, and sought to deliver the oppressed. He (Mr. Thompson) would take it for granted that such a resolution would have received the enthusiastic support of all present (loud cheers). The opponents of Dr. Cheever were striving to starve the garrison, at present in possession of the Church of the Puritans, into capitulation and surrender. It was in the power of the people of this country to send effectual succor to the beleagured party. Let it be done, and done quickly and liberally. If it must be so, let the Church of the Puritans become henceforth the Church of the Abolitionists of Great Britain, and its pastor the mouthpiece of the sentiment held by the people here on the question of slavery; and pastor, and Church, and people, be a living, standing, vital and active testimony, at once against the iniquity of slavery, and the shortcomings of the American Churches (great applause). The Rev. Mr. Condor explained that the resolution which had been passed was "certainly *intended* to include the CHURCH *as much as* the PASTOR." I refer you to the papers for further particulars. [See first page.]

UNJUST IMPEACHMENT.

WE were not a little surprised to find the following letter copied into *The* [London] *Anti-Slavery Advocate* for October:

ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATES.

To the Editor of The Bradford Review.

SIR: It is with feelings of regret that I am impelled by duty to take up my pen to call attention to the discrepancy between the profession and practice of the Rev. D. M. Graham, an American clergyman, who is now shouting, in the name of liberty, throughout this land, and has recently been in Bradford. In last year's report of the American and Foreign Bible Society, the above gentleman's name appears on the list of its Board of Managers; a society which has an utter disregard of right and wrong, in extending its arms for the reception of slaveholders to its life memberships, and holding them eligible to all its offices and appointments on equal terms with others.

The Board says: "Confined exclusively to the work assigned them, the officers, managers, and agents of the Society are obviously exempted from all liability to misconstruction; and should have no inclination as they have no authority, to *turn aside* from their appropriate duties to interfere officially either with the moral or civil rights of communities or of individuals. Among contributors to the treasury of the Institution, no distinction is recognized except that which arises from superior benevolence. In application for funds we are restricted by no *peculiarity of sentiment, or sectional limits*, but presenting everywhere the claims of the Society, *we receive with gratitude whatever donations any may be disposed to make*, and leave, *as in duty bound, all our patrons in the undisturbed possession of their inalienable rights of private judgment*."

The above platform of the Society needs no comment, as it is so full, frank, and definite, in regard to their policy in soliciting slaveholders' offerings, and in welcoming to their fellowship, with equal cordiality, the bloody and deceitful man with the just and upright man.

There is also a Rev. E. Mathews in England, acting as an agent for the Baptist Free Mission Society—a Society which condemns, in the strongest terms, the complicity of such men as the Rev. Mr. Graham, and yet practice what they condemn, as both the editors of *The American Baptist* and the Board of Managers and Trustees of the Free Mission Society, have placed themselves in unhallowed relationship with the Bible Union, another Society which has its board in New York, and *is in full complicity with slaveholders*—a fact undeniably and incontrovertibly made manifest in their report which is now before me; and, therefore, the claims of the Baptist Free Mission Society are utterly worthless until their actions are brought into conformity with their professions.

The Rev. Mr. Mathews has done good service to the cause of freedom when in America, and consequently I the more sincerely regret that now he should devote his energies to promote the work of such a worthless society as the Free Mission, whose leaders and managers are so inconsistent with their professions.

Yours, respectfully,
J. R. BALME.

Bradford, Sept. 2, 1860.

[We have great confidence in the anti-slavery fidelity of the Rev. Mr. Mathews, and have no doubt that he will be able to explain his course to the satisfaction of Mr. Balme, whose vigilance in exposing the conduct of such men as the Rev. Mr. Graham is worthy of general imitation.—*Ed. A. S. Advocate.*]

Rev. D. M. Graham is the pastor of the Freewill Baptist Church in this city. He went to England in April last as a delegate, we believe, from the Freewill Baptist General Conference in the United States, to the Churches of the same denomination in that country. We know him well as an earnest Abolitionist, who does not hesitate, in his own pulpit, to denounce slavery as a sin, and urge upon his congregation the duty of laboring for its overthrow. Before entering the ministry, he was, for a short time, an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society for procuring subscribers to THE STANDARD, and, since coming to New York, he has in many ways indicated a very hearty sympathy with the anti-slavery movement. In 1854, the church in which he preached was, on being applied for, opened without hesitation for the business meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Graham giving his earnest assent to the measure and his personal attention to the arrangements needful for the Society's complete accommodation. If he has not appeared in our meetings as an advocate of the cause, it has not been from lack of sympathy with the Society, but because he is unaccustomed to platform speaking. He has struggled against many disadvantages to build up a Freewill Baptist Society in this city, laboring for the most part among those whose pecuniary means are quite limited, and we believe he has never yielded to the temptation of withholding or softening his testimony against slavery in order to win the support of men of opposite views. He is an earnest friend and admirer of Dr. Cheever, and we do not hesitate to express our belief that in his intercourse with the people of England he has shown himself a defender of the Abolitionists of America against all the slanders of their enemies. The Freewill Baptist denomination in this country, though lacking in zeal for the cause, and, in their relations to other Churches, and to the government, not altogether consistent, does not admit slaveholders to its communion. As to Mr. Graham's connection with the American and Foreign Bible Society, we are not well informed, but we cannot doubt that he will be able to explain the matter in such a way as to vindicate his honesty if not his consistency. Our acquaintance with Mr. Balme is but slight, and we would not for the world do him injustice; but we cannot help saying that his zeal usually quite outruns both his knowledge and discretion.

FASTING AND PRAYING IN BEHALF OF SLAVERY.

When ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.—*Isaiah* i., 15-17.

NOTHING could better illustrate the character of what passes at the South for Christianity than the fact that religious bodies there are actually proposing to set apart a day of fasting and prayer for the protection, extension and perpetuation of slavery, supposed to be in peril in view of the probable election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency! The Church of the South is the shameless defender of slavery and the domestic slave trade, with all their concomitants of fraud, violence, enforced ignorance, the separation of families, etc.; the willing ally of corrupt politicians in the effort to frighten the people of the North from their efforts to break away from the despotism of the Slave Power. Read the following:

From The Fayetteville (N. C.) Presbyterian.

PRAYER FOR OUR COUNTRY.—An overture to the Synod from the Presbytery of Fayetteville, designed to secure some united effort of our people in prayer for the country, appeared in our issue of last week. It will doubtless meet with favor from that body, as such a movement seems eminently proper at this critical juncture of political affairs. Something of the kind is indeed demanded by the circumstances in which we are placed. The political contest through which the country is now passing, and which is drawing to a close, is not one of the ordinary character, such as our fathers contemplated when they framed our free institutions, or such as we have ourselves witnessed in former years. A new aspect has been given to this canvass, and new issues have been raised in it, that portend results of a most dangerous, if not fatal, character. The country has oftentimes been greatly excited on the eve of a Presidential election. This is not new.

But the present is not a mere cry of Wolf! wolf!! —though we fear it is so regarded in some parts of the country. It is folly to attempt to disguise or deny the fact that there is danger ahead. There are breakers near at hand. The old Ship of State is in imminent peril.

In such circumstances as these, what can the patriot do? Where will the Christian go? To whom will he look for help? *There is no help but in God.*

An overture, similar to that which will come before our Synod next week, was considered by the Synod of Virginia last week. At the time of this writing the result of this overture to the Synod of Virginia is not known. But it has doubtless been favorable.

From The Charleston Courier.

A correspondent of the Charleston *Courier* sends us the following communication, to which we invite the attention of readers:

"It is respectfully suggested, in view of the present political differences, that the Executives of the Southern States and of others who may desire to join, do appoint a day, and the same day of the week and month, for humiliation and prayer to Almighty God to guide the councils of said States, and to aid and direct the people of the same, under all circumstances arising from those differences.

"And that the Executives of the several States named, do recommend the people of the same to observe the appointed day, by assembling in prayer according to their various denominations, at about the same hour of the day, so as that but one voice should go up to the Throne of Him that sits in judgment over the earth, and holds the destinies of nations in His hands."

Well, if Theodore Parker was prayed to death by a circle of ladies, convened in the parlor of an eminent citizen of Boston, as a correspondent of the Chicago *Congregational Herald* has intimated, why should not the pious slaveholders of the South hope to defeat the election of Lincoln by the same means? We only suggest that, if they call their Fast, they should read Isaiah's description of what is requisite to make it acceptable to God.

LOST THE PITCH.—The signers of the jesuitical protest lately sent to England by the opponents of Dr. Cheever in the Church and Society of the Puritans, thinking it necessary, as a means of giving effect to the treacherous blow aimed at their pastor, to win the confidence of British Abolitionists, were careful to make strong professions of anti-slavery sentiments and purposes. In closing their appeal, they even professed to "sincerely and gratefully acknowledge and reciprocate the sympathy which you [British Christians] express for us [!!] in the great battle of human freedom." On the lips of no inconsiderable number of the signers, this language is arrant hypocrisy, for they belong to the class which maintains that the English people are chargeable with gross impertinence in presuming to meddle in any way with American slavery. *The World* newspaper, forgetting, in its honest hatred of Abolitionism, the need of deceiving the people of Great Britain by false professions, frankly says: "We have our opinions as to the *inexpediency* of farther exciting the British mind—already sufficiently irascible (!)—upon the subject of slavery, even for purposes of sympathy." *The World*, if it wishes to join in the chorus with Dr. Cheever's enemies, should be careful not to lose the pitch.

MR. BATCHELOR'S LETTER.—The letter of the Rev. HENRY BATCHELOR of Glasgow, copied on the first page from the Leeds (England) *Mercury*, shows the writer to be as well informed in regard to the condition of the anti-slavery conflict in the United States as he is fearless in the utterance of his opinions and generous in his sympathy for Dr. Cheever. It is fortunate for the Doctor and his cause that they have an advocate in the person of one of the most eloquent of Scotland's ministers, the successor of RALPH WARDLAW. Mr. Batchelor, it will be seen, has a clear perception of the artful policy and malign purpose of *The Independent* in covertly making war upon Dr. Cheever, and we cannot doubt that his arguments and appeals will have great weight with many whom that journal designed and hoped to mislead.

FRATERNAL LETTER TO THE CHURCH OF THE PURITANS,

FROM WESLEYAN MINISTERS AND LAYMEN.

A meeting of the Church of the Puritans was held in the Lecture Room of the Church, immediately after the usual weekly lecture, on Friday evening, October 19, at which Mr. Whiting presented the following letter, which had been committed to his care:

Fulton, Oswego Co., N. Y., October 6, 1860.

The General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, to the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, New York City, greeting:

Dear and Honored Brethren: The undersigned, members of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, now assembled in this place, having had our attention directed to your noble stand in the cause of that liberty which is the God-ordained *right of man*, and witnessed the varied efforts that have been made to bereave you of that moral power which your position has given you in the great commercial centre of our country, find our hearts drawn towards you as brethren well beloved, and we send you our hearty cheer. From the deep of our souls we bid you God-speed in the work in which you and your pastor are engaged. And in the language of that venerable man, whose last public act was to write to Wilberforce, when the right hand had nearly forgotten its cunning, and whose name is blended with our own as an ecclesiastical organism, we would say to you, "Go on, in the name of God and in the power of his might, until even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away." And we greet you thus, believing that, could the immortal Wesley speak to your Knox-like pastor, he would say, "Go on! go on!"

We send not our messages to you, dear brethren in Christ, from the promptings of sentimentalism, but from the outgushings of hearts that have drunk of the cup that you have drunk of, and been baptized with the baptism that you are baptized with.

Our struggles have been like yours. For more than seventeen years we have stood in the gap, and made up the breach in our organized character. We have had our Scotts and Smiths, men of moral renown, now in rest, not unlike your Cheever. We have had our Bacon, McBride, Crooks and Worth, who have been the victims of the Slave Power; the two former being now beyond the reach of all despotisms, the two latter still with us, to tell the story of their wrongs; and we feel that there is a fitness that we should be one to live and one to die. The communings of our hearts are the more sweet with you because our conflicts have been so similar, growing out of the same causes. We send you our greetings, Christian brethren, because that you and we are engaged in the same cause, employing the same weapon to promote it—the Word of God, this mighty sword of truth, wielded with such power and skill by your never-to-be-forgotten pastor.

And the more your persecutions shall be increased, and thereby you become a spectacle to men and angels, the more shall our prayers be quickened in your behalf, and the more shall we hope to see you acting up to the standard of the apostolic rule, "Quit you like men, be strong." From the position the Church of the Puritans occupies at the present time, and the interests involved in her sustainment or ruin, more eyes are turned toward her than almost any other in all Christendom. The least faltering in her membership will be noted with exultation by her foes and sadness by her friends. A pure Christianity, a suffering race—God-loved but man-crushed and outraged—interests the most holy and endearing, urge you not to cast away your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward.

And as to your pastor, now across the Atlantic, we have good hope that he will be in the charge of angels, and in due time restored to you refreshed in spirit and emboldened by the inspiration of a new baptism from on high, so that, with the weapons that are mighty through God, the strongholds of error and wrong shall be pulled down through his instrumentality. And to this end, at the close of our session of the 5th inst., after some conversation on the subject, at the request of the President of our body, the venerable Daniel Worth, so recently welcomed by Dr. Cheever from the only safe place for a true man in the South, a *prison*, led us in special prayer for his preservation and safe return to his Church and Congregation. In this general petition, we feel authorized to say, our hearts and upbreathings were one to the God of our fathers, and we felt that we had the petitions we desired of him, in a blessing vouchsafed to our and your beloved friend, and to ourselves.

And now, Christian brethren, we again say, "Be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord."

We are, dear brethren, your fellow-laborers in the cause of that Redeemer, whose mission was deliverance to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

(Signed)—*Officers of the General Conference.*

Lucius C. Matlack, President, Wheaton, Illinois.
John McEldowney, Secretary, Adrian, Mich.
Samuel B. Smith, Assistant Secretary, Coldwater, Mich.
O. P. Chubb, Assistant Secretary, Adrian, Mich.
W. W. Lyle, Official Reporter, Troy, Ohio.

Ministers of the General Conference.

Luther Lee, Chagrin Falls, Ohio.
John T. Hewett, Fulton, N. Y.
Cyrus Prindle, Syracuse, N. Y.
B. Eastwood, Williamsburg, Mass.
John Johnston.
P. A. Field.
John Crooker.
D. Worth, Indiana.
G. B. Rogers, Cincinnati, Ohio.
H. McKee, Wisconsin.
S. H. Foster, West Chazy, N. Y.
A. Crooks, Cleveland, Ohio.
M. P. Wiley.
J. A. Preston.
Lyman Prindle.
Dwight Willis.
A. W. Curtis, Michigan.
George J. Cummings.
J. H. Stoney, Indiana.
Rufus Innes.
George Pegler.
Walter Wilkie.
G. W. Bainum, Ohio.
John P. Betker, Syracuse, N. Y.
Seymour A. Baker, New York City.
D. B. Douglass.
Henry Norton.
George Richey, Indiana.
George Dunkle.
R. B. Gardiner.
H. D. Inman.
S. D. Trembly.

Visiting Ministers.

William S. Bell.
Orange Newton.
T. H. Kenaston.
Harry Gregory.
A. Parke Burgess, Mexico, Oswego Co., N. Y.

Lay Delegates.

Charles G. Case, Fulton, N. Y.
A. T. Norton, Stockholm.
J. B. Hunt, Zanesville Conf.
E. Starbuck, Richmond, Ind.
Richard Green, Clearspring, Ill.
Apsun Buckus.
Jonas M. Childs, Russell, O.
Robert Mansfield, Needham, Mass.
S. M. Sweet.
Joseph Parish, Cincinnati, O.
Robert Rothwell, Kishwaukee, Ill.
Thomas W. Shepard, Ill.
Enoch F. Willett, Virgil, N. Y.
W. N. Bloss, Parishville, N. Y.
Montgomery Merrick, Syracuse, Mich.
H. A. Lyon, Shelburn, Mass.
Moses Dudley.
Joseph B. Russel.
B. Bowman.
N. W. Hodges.
D. McFarland.

After the reading of the memorial, it was moved by the Rev. C. J. Warren, and seconded by Mr. Chase, that the thanks of the Church of the Puritans be returned to the signers of the memorial, and that the memorial and the signatures be given for publication in the newspapers. The motion was adopted.

Good Books in Press.—Thayer and Eldridge, Boston, have in press the following works:

Half-Battle Words from Theodore Parker, containing some of the most salient passages to be found in his writings; including extracts from his famous portraitures of character, such as Channing, John Quincy Adams, General Taylor, Daniel Webster, Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, R. W. Emerson, Humboldt, etc., etc.

Theodore Parker in Memoriam, embracing the tributes to his memory, by Emerson, Phillips, Garrison, J. F. Clark, W. H. Channing, Mayo, Alger, Belcher, Frothingham, Conway, Higginson, Wheelock, Charles Sumner, G. W. Curtis, etc., etc., with a biographical sketch.

Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl; edited by L. Maria Child: A work presenting a new phase of the peculiar institution, of especial interest to every woman, and to all who love virtue.

History of Slave Insurrections, by T. W. Higginson. This will embrace the papers in the Atlantic Monthly, contributed by the author under the title of "The Maroons of Jamaica," "The Maroons of Surinam," etc., with a history of all other notable slave insurrections. A work of peculiar interest to the American people, as well as a valuable contribution to historical literature.

LETTER FROM DR. BROOKE, OF OHIO.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Sir: The leading article in your issue of September 29, under the title of "Just this Once," contains, among the wholesome truths it utters, several declarations so mistaken that I deem it a duty publicly to protest against them. One of these is the assertion that "it is the idea, first put forth in this country by Garrison, that slavery is a sin against God and man under all circumstances, and therefore immediate emancipation the right of the slave and the duty of the master, that is really the vital spark which gives life and motion to the Republican party." The truthfulness of this position is contradicted by the evidence contained in the two platforms which the party, by its accredited delegates, has constructed and published, and by the declarations of all of its most eminent and approved leaders, wherever they are to be found. I need not intrude upon your space by quotations from these platforms or the published declarations of political leaders. These are patent to all who incline to an impartial investigation of passing events. "He that is not with them is against them, and he that followeth not with them scattereth abroad," is in itself very true; but in the connection in which it is used, the idea it is made to convey is utterly false—namely, that the Republicans are not *with* the South in the support and perpetuation of slavery. This might be shown by the most abundant and conclusive testimony, but sufficient for the present purpose has been afforded in a succeeding portion of the same article, wherein it defines the position of Lincoln and his confreres in relation to the Fugitive law and slave insurrections. It is not the part of wisdom to delude ourselves or deceive others in respect to the actual intentions of those who control the Republican party, nor to the inevitable results of their policy, whether intended or not. The possession of the supposed honors and of the actual power and vast profits of official station, are evidently the real motives which originated and have sustained this political movement. These are not the mere "sparks," but blazing brands which give "life and motion to the Republican party." In evidence of this we have only to observe the alacrity with which its candidates, invariably, from William H. Seward in his bid for the Presidency on the 29th of February, to the most petty office-seeker, are ready to lower the standard of their anti-slavery profession to any extent deemed necessary to secure the coveted station. It is further proved by the fact that wherever the party has come into the possession of power it has uniformly refused to exercise it for the advancement of even "constitutional" measures of justice to the colored race, and adapted to the overthrow of slavery, if we except Massachusetts, where local influences make that the surest policy to secure the tenure of office. The question of slavery as raised by the Abolitionists has given them opportunity to make an apparent issue, without a shadow of principle involved in it, upon which they hope to obtain office. And by their accredited mouthpieces they tell us in advance, what all discerning persons cannot fail to understand without such evidence, that their policy when they come into power will neither be designed nor calculated to make the existence of slavery less secure.

It is true there are members of the party who are deceived, notwithstanding so plain an exhibition of the cloven foot, who persist in believing to the contrary; which argues better for the humanity of their feelings than for their intelligence; but it is astonishing that any person uninfluenced by a strong party bias can be a partner in the delusion.

When we are told explicitly and by numerous authoritative witnesses, that the "Republican party is the white man's party," and that the only apparent issue—the prevention of slavery from entering the Territories—is sought that these portions of our country may be held in reserve for the use of the white race, and when all the facts in the case bear witness with them, it is to propagate a very prejudicial error to aver of the slave oligarchy, "through all the glosses that are put upon the issue that slavery shall not go into the Territories, political or politico-economical, they see at a glance, and they know these all rest ultimately upon the assumption that the relation of slavery is one contrary to the law of God." Action based upon the law of God will never be found divided against itself, and upholding and perpetuating sin where it is, to provide against the possibility of crime being committed in regions where it has been unknown.

Another error which I wish to remark upon is the assumption that the opposition of the Abolitionists to the national government is "not a question of anti-slavery, but of individual integrity." "This course he does not take because it promotes abolition, but because his own personal honor and veracity require it." Whilst I agree that this should be held a sufficient reason, if we had no other, I may be permitted to remark that the overthrow of this national confederacy is the only measure which can possibly effect the abolition of American slavery. So many elements of physical power (the only means by which chattel slavery is or can be maintained) are to be found or may readily be developed in the United States, that as long as they can be concentrated and employed, as at present, through the government, in the perpetuation of slavery, there is no human power outside or within the nation which will be competent to abolish it. Moral power to induce the assumed owner to set his vassals free, can never be extensively brought to bear upon his mind by those linked equally with himself in the guilt of employing the physical force which holds in subjection the chattel. And, on the other hand, the withdrawal of the power given to the slave-owners by the people and property of the non-slaveholding States would, of itself, compel emancipation, as an act of self-preservation, by the people of the slave-owning States themselves. In this, as in everything else, the *right* course is the only expedient one.

If this new doctrine, that the question of withdrawal from the Union is "not one of anti-slavery but of individual integrity," it is manifestly time for the American Anti-Slavery Society to change its name, and assume that of The Society for the Preservation of Individual Integrity.

I doubt not that these are, in some measure, the views of the writer of the article in question, and therefore may be permitted to express my regret that a more careful utterance of sentiment was not made to occupy the position it does in The Standard, held up for a guilty nation to examine and adopt. A. Brooke.

Marlboro, Ohio, Oct. 6.

THE ALBANY ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE AND BOOK DEPOSITORY.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I visited, on Saturday last, the new Anti-Slavery Rooms, recently opened in this city (Albany), mention of which has already been made in your columns. The rooms are very pleasantly and conveniently located on Steuben street, one door from Broadway, near the Delevan House. They are also very accessible for persons passing through, or having but a short period to remain in Albany, being within three minutes walk of the New York Central and other railroad stations. This will be a great convenience to many persons out of town.

The shelves are already well filled with a supply of new and valuable tracts and documents issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the Hovey Trust Committee, and a valuable collection of anti-slavery and other books, including the writings of Garrison, Phillips, Lydia Maria Child, Olmsted, Gerrit Smith, Mrs. Dennison, Dr. Cheever, Helper, Mrs. Dall, Charles K. Whipple, Emerson, Dr. Furness, Mayo, Theodore Parker, Martineau, Lowell, Channing, and others. There is also a full and valuable assortment of Woman's Rights tracts, some excellent Temperance publications, works on Spiritualism, Liberal Christianity, etc., etc. A full catalogue of these, I understand, is in the course of preparation, which you will doubtless publish. Large numbers of anti-slavery tracts have been, I am informed, generously donated to the office for gratuitous distribution. To accomplish this most effectually in remote parts of the State, a considerable amount of money should be raised, to be used in payment of postage.

At a late meeting of the State Committee, under whose direction this new Office and Depository is, it was resolved to renew, at an early day, vigorous efforts for a Personal Liberty Law in this State. Thousands of Appeals and blank copies of the Petition, for signatures, should be scattered through the different Counties of the State. Lydia Mott, of Albany, well known to many of your readers as a devoted friend of the slave, and as a very clear-sighted, efficient laborer in his cause, is the Office Agent, and is Secretary and Treasurer of the State Committee. Liberal donations of money are now needed, and should at once be sent to the Treasurer, from friends of the cause who realize the importance of the work, and have the ability to aid in it, that the tracts, petitions, etc., may be widely distributed through all parts of the State.

I learn that this new auxiliary to our cause here meets with general and hearty commendation so far as its existence has become known, and it certainly promises well for future good. P.

October 15, 1860.

A BLOODY AND OPPRESSIVE CHURCH.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I have read, I confess with astonishment at the boldness of men who claim to belong to the very first class and front rank of Christians, the reports, in The Standard and in other journals, of the recent deliberate and emphatic refusal of the Episcopal Convention of New York to speak one single word against the African slave trade; a trade now opened afresh, and extensively carried on from the very city and under the very eyes of the Convention itself, as it sat in its deliberations.

Of course I was not unaware of the intimate connection with the support of slavery in this country which exists in that Church. I was not unaware how steadily and persistently it had refused to touch the burdens of the enslaved and oppressed with one of their fingers. I had not forgotten the long and significant contempt, manifested by the Convention of this same Diocese of New York, towards the Church of their own order in your city, St. Philip's (colored) Church. And yet all these, and even worse, had not prepared me to witness the brazen persistency in wickedness, the reckless readiness to countenance and hold up piracy, adultery, robbery and murder (and whatever else goes to make up and characterize the African slave trade), the bold defiance of God and trampling upon His laws, the insulting scorn of the spirit and precepts of the Lord Jesus Christ, which I have now seen in the late Convention of the New York Episcopal Church.

Their action, and still more their criminal inaction, have brought again vividly before my mind a flagrant deed of certain persons high in authority in that Church some years since—which deed seems now, in its cruel and even fiendish spirit, to have virtually obtained approbation and endorsement from the highest Episcopal Church authorities in the State of New York. I allude to their mutilation of Ary Scheffer's most touching and beautiful picture, the "Christus Consolator." I need not remind your readers that in that picture, the Savior, with his most compassionate face, sits the centre of a group of the representatives of "all classes, ranks, and conditions of men," and that, among these, all the suffering ones of the human race find a place, and all are included in his benignant look, in his divine pity, and in the succor and salvation which he came to bestow. Among them all, the blind, the deaf, the sick, the dying, the bereaved mother, stands an African slave, lifting his fettered arms towards the Master, with a perfect confidence that he can "break every yoke." The picture is one of the most expressive, beautiful, and faithful to the spirit of the Gospel, that has ever been conceived. A late number of the *Edinburgh Review* refers to it as the picture, "in which, with a divine sympathy, the painter has gathered the weary and the heavily-laden of every race and every clime around the throne of mercy and of love." What picture more appropriate than this to illustrate the Christian's Book of Prayer? So thought some members of the Church of England, and copies of the Book of Common Prayer of that Church were published, in which this celebrated picture was engraved as a frontispiece. The idea was caught up by members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. An edition of their Common Prayer Book should be printed, and Ary Scheffer's "Christus Consolator" should appear in it—but with an *improvement*, such as might be expected in this most free, most enlightened, most Christian nation! The picture should appear *without the slave*, without the *negro*—no black man's face, no reminder of the American slave, should be seen in their dainty prayer-book! No. And they dared to strike it out! They dared to say that the loving Jesus spurned the black man from his presence—that the slave had no part or place in the crowd of sufferers who might come unto him with their sorrows and burdens! They insulted God, the Savior, Ary Scheffer, and Man's common humanity, all at once.

And now comes this last and crowning act of infamy, in which the entire Episcopal Church of the largest and wealthiest State in the Union speaks with all but unanimous voice, and virtually *says* the African slave trade may go on in its marts, among its members, in all the ships of its opulent merchants, wholly unrebuked and unmolested by them!

Woe, woe to the bloody and the oppressive Church! Let all who still remain in her, and have any portion of the spirit of Christ, flee out of her as Lot fled from Sodom. No Church of the Living God is she, but a Synagogue of Satan. Henceforth let her name be, *The Iscariot Church.* New England.

PERSONAL.

Mr. and Mrs. Browning, with their son, have been spending the summer months at Sienna. Letters from that point report them in excellent health.

A friend says, in a private letter: "Dr. Cheever and friends must be understanding by this time the depths of detraction and slander through which the members of the Anti-Slavery Societies have been obliged to pass for five and twenty years." Verily, we should think so.

Walter Savage Landor has occupied himself for a long time past in putting his complete writings in fitting order for the press. His entire works, corrected and enlarged, as they may be, he has put into the hands of Mr. Fields, the Boston publisher, selecting him as his final editor.

A colored gentleman, Mr. Samuel Cockburn, a Creole, of the Island of Granada, has been appointed Administrator of the Government of Montserrat. No loyal subject of the Queen can refuse to recognize as a social equal any one whom she, as the fountain of honor, chooses to appoint to high places in her realm.

Gerrit Smith, accompanied by his wife, has been in the city a portion of the present week. He is in fine health. We learn from him that he attended the Anti-Slavery Convention at Canastota, Madison County, on Saturday and Sunday last. He says the Convention was deeply interesting and impressive. Beriah Green and Aaron M. Powell were present.

It is known to many of our readers that Francis Jackson, of Boston, the revered President of the Massachusetts and Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, has for some time past been very ill, insomuch that his family and friends have been exceedingly anxious lest his disease might have a fatal termination. Our latest information, received some days since, is thus expressed: "He is better, though not much better."

Col. Sumner, of Kansas notoriety, visited Ransom's picture of John Brown, in Syracuse, a few days since. He pronounced the picture "very like," and expressed himself much pleased with it. It will be remembered that Col. Sumner had some personal intercourse with old John Brown on the Kansas border. Col. S. also spoke in high terms of praise of the man whose likeness he looked upon. We doubt, however, if the two men ever before gazed as quietly at each other as they did just then.

Messrs. Hossack and Stout, lately sentenced to fine and imprisonment at Chicago for aiding in the rescue of a fugitive slave, have been released, the amount of their fines and costs having been raised and paid by the citizens of Chicago. There was a surplus of nearly $200, which, however, will be needed if they are compelled to pay for the negro. The Chicago *Congregational Herald* of the 18th says: "Hossack and Stout were both present and addressed the meeting in Metropolitan Hall on Friday evening."

A beautifully printed volume has been issued for private distribution among the friends of the late John W. Browne of Boston, as a memorial of his life and character. It contains contributions by John A. Andrew, Rev. Charles C. Shackford, Rev. Edmund B. Willson, James Dana, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Samuel P. Andrews, Dr. Walter Channing, and others, and may be obtained by the friends of Mr. Browne, from the publishers, Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co., 117 Washington street, Boston.

The Leeds (England) *Mercury* of Oct. 2, says: "Yesterday evening, the celebrated American divine and champion of the oppressed slave, Rev. Dr. Cheever, preached to a numerous audience in Belgrave chapel, in this town, on the great question of slavery. His sermon was marked by powerful and brilliant eloquence, and by righteous enthusiasm and burning indignation against the iniquitous system which he has so long faithfully denounced in the midst of the wrongdoers. The discourse was replete with argument as well as with eloquence, and deeply impressed his hearers."

The Boston *Transcript* gives us the following information:

"From photographs of the bust of Theodore Parker, by the sculptor, Story at Rome, we are satisfied that this remarkable work has not been overestimated. In its character it is classic Greek—so much so that at first view it would seem to be an ancient bust, perhaps of Socrates. This resemblance is, perhaps, increased by the beard which Mr. Parker had allowed to grow after he became an invalid. But while thus successful as a work of art, it cannot fail to gratify his friends as a likeness. Indeed, it is admirable simply as a portrait bust—reminding you at once of the man. It is full of strength in repose, which is so essential to the highest beauty in sculpture. It is well known that Mr. Parker shared the sensitiveness which is so common with regard to portraits. He always sat with reluctance, for he doubted the result. But he had peculiar pleasure in the bust by Story. His hours while sitting were among the most cheerful of his latter days. And when it was finished, he gave the work his approbation in words which we are sure will be read with interest. Standing before it and studying it earnestly, he said: 'I am perfectly satisfied with that. It is the only likeness that has ever been made of me. It looks as if it could do all that I have done. I was afraid at first that you would make me as I am, rather than as I was. I am now only a shadow of what I was. This bust is Parker himself.' It was only a short time after that he died. The bust has already been ordered in marble by Mrs. Parker. But the many visitors at the Public Library of Boston, which he has endowed with his great collection of books, would surely be much gratified to look upon this favorite portrait of a benefactor."

TWENTY-FIFTH
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR
AND
NATIONAL BAZAAR.

This Bazaar will be opened in the Saloons of the Assembly Buildings, Philadelphia, on Tuesday evening, December 11th, and will continue during the following three days. This announcement will be sufficient to secure to the Managers the zealous coöperation of those who, for many successive years, have proved the value of this instrumentality of anti-slavery labor.

To others, who have not had this experience, and who have not hitherto deeply felt the claims of the American anti-slavery enterprise, we appeal for aid, not only in the name of four millions of their fellow-countrymen, deprived, by American statutes, of all the rights of American freemen, but also for the sake of their own imperilled liberty. This anti-slavery question, the agitation of which has been widening and deepening for thirty years, until every village from Maine to Texas feels its influence, is no longer merely the question, Shall the negro slaves of these United States be emancipated? The truth, ever obvious to the moral philosopher, that the enslavers of others become themselves enslaved, is now being demonstrated to this nation. The inestimable blessings which American citizens have held so dear, freedom of speech and of the press, the *habeas corpus*, the right of trial by jury, and, indeed, all the safeguards of American law, are wrested from every man, Northern or Southern, who, upon Southern soil, dares to offend a slaveholding populace by manly utterances in behalf of liberty. The struggle is now for our own civil and political freedom, as well as for the personal freedom of the slaves; and upon all those whose moral susceptibilities take no cognizance of the latter, we urge the consideration of the former. It is by such discipline that nations may learn that the absolute right is the wisest political economy.

A result of our long experience in anti-slavery labor, is confidence to urge on the community the claims of our twenty-fifth Fair. The principles of equitable traffic on which our Fairs are conducted are too well known to need explanation here. From our coadjutors at home and abroad we hope to receive valuable contributions.

Donations in money or articles of merchandise may be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 107 North Fifth street, Philadelphia, or to any member of the Committee of Arrangements.

Sarah Pugh,
Margaret J. Burleigh,
Anna M. Child,
Ellen M. Child,
Sarah L. Child,
Elizabeth Clendenson,
Maria Conklin,
Sarah Kenderdine,
Abby Kimber,
Martha Kimber,
Sarah A. McKim,
Lucretia Mott,
Emma Parker,
Sarah H. Pierce,
Ruth Anna Pierce,
Agnes Crain,
Maria M. Davis,
Margaretta Forten,
Martha A. Galvin,
Lydia Gillingham,
Sarah K. Gillingham,
Mary Grew,
Margaret A. Griscom,
Sarah C. Hallowell,
Rebecca S. Hart,
Anna M. Hopper,
Jennette Jackson,
Gulielma M. Jones,
Clementina G. John,
Huldah Justice,
Anna R. Justice,
Rebecca Plumly,
Harriet D. Purvis,
Mary Shaw,
Susan Shaw,
Annie Shoemaker,
Martha Shoemaker,
Hannah L. Stickney,
Mary T. Stickney,
Emily W. Taylor,
Rosanna Thompson,
Lydia White,
Rachel Wilson,
Mary C. Wright.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH
National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary.
JANUARY, 1861.

When the claim for Universal Liberty was first made in our country, the best part of a lifetime ago, the work lay wholly in futurity. The idea and the principles of Human Rights were to be replanted, the justice and necessity of their cause as against slavery to be proved, the prevailing apathy to be broken, the public mind to be awakened and enkindled, the insufficiency of a Church and State controlled by slavery to compass freedom to be demonstrated, the retrogression of the land towards barbarism under their sway to be made manifest, and freedom of speech, of the press, and of a new specific association to be claimed and exercised as the only sufficient instrumentalities of progress.

This is the initiatory work that has been done, and by it abundant opportunities of direct action have been rendered practicable. The work itself, in a thousand shapes, now lies before us, whose privilege it has been to make ready for it. The despotism is driven into open day. To meet it, requires devotion, industry, and the sacred fire of a true enthusiasm. It requires energy, coöperation and the discipline of self-control. It requires generous contributions of money. We trust that all these indispensable requisites are now, as ever, ready.

We earnestly and cordially entreat all who love our native land in sincerity, whether Europeans or Americans, to unite with us more numerously and more generously than ever to meet the demands of a period of crises unparalleled in the history of our country—now, indeed, in the history of the world. For when before has it ever happened that Freedom has been sought from among a dominant people for a down-trodden one, on so grand a scale as this? We ask aid of Europeans, while we bid them observe that their freedom makes progress only in exact proportion as our slavery is brought into discredit. We ask aid of Americans; for where is the American to whom this cause of ours is not the supreme interest of the present hour as affording the only hope of Futurity? The work before us is ever that primary one contemplated by no other existing body, political or religious: the work that Church and Government are always tempted by the necessities of their position as such to neglect, adjourn, suppress. And the stronger the desire of their members to promote the cause, the stronger the temptation, being so placed, to temporise and to compromise.

To all these we confidently appeal for aid in the work they can neither do, nor do without.

We cordially invite all who love Liberty the world over, to meet us at the Music Hall, Boston, in the month of January next, in person or by letter, uniting their sympathies and contributions with ours in the great work of the time—the peaceful extinction of American slavery.

Maria Weston Chapman,
Mary May,
Louisa Loring,
L. Maria Child,
Henrietta Sargent,
Anne Warren Weston,
Mary Gray Chapman,
Helen Eliza Garrison,
Sarah Shaw Russell,
Frances Mary Robbins,
Caroline Weston,
Mary Willey,
Sarah Blake Shaw,
Susan C. Cabot,
Sarah P. Atkinson,
Eliza Andrew,
Lydia D. Parker,
Eliza F. Eddy,
Sarah P. Remond,
Abby Francis,
Sarah Russell May,
Abby Kelley Foster,
Sarah H. Southwick,
Evelina A. S. Smith,
Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Augusta G. King,
Elizabeth Von Arnim,
Anna Shaw Greene,
Eliza Apthorp,
Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Mattie Griffith,
Anne Langdon Alger,
Mary E. Stearns,

THE WEYMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR

(to be held at the South Shore Railroad Depot, Weymouth Landing), will open on Tuesday Evening, October 30th, and continue through Wednesday and Thursday.

The Annual Tea Party, at which Mr. Edmund Quincy is to preside, will take place at the same Hall, on Thursday evening, November 1st. Eloquent speakers from Boston, Weymouth, and neighboring towns are expected.

The Annual Dancing Party will be on Friday evening, Nov. 2d.

NEW SERIES OF ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

The new Series now consists of Nine Tracts, to which we would again call the attention of our readers and of all friends of Anti-Slavery Reform, as just the publications which the times and the cause now require. Call for them—send for them—circulate them.

No. 1. Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia. 5 cents.
No. 2 Victor Hugo on American Slavery, with letters of other distinguished individuals, viz., De Tocqueville, Mazzini, Humboldt, Lafayette, &c. 5 cents.
No. 3. An Account of some of the Principal Slave Insurrections during the last two Centuries. By Joshua Coffin. 5 cents.
No. 4. The New Reign of Terror in the Slaveholding States, for 1859–'60. 10 cents.
No. 5. The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the West Indies and elsewhere. By L. Maria Child. 10 cents.
No. 6. Daniel O'Connell on American Slavery; with other Irish Testimonies. 5 cents.
No. 7. Testimonies of Capt. John Brown, at Harper's Ferry, with his Address to the Court. 2 cents.
No. 8. The Philosophy of the Abolition Movement. By Wendell Phillips. 5 cents.
No. 9. The Patriarchal Institution, as described by Members of its Own Family. Compiled by L. Maria Child. 5 cents.

☞ A deduction of fifty per cent. will be made where a dozen or more copies are taken. Gratuitous copies will be sent by mail, for examination, on receiving the postage charge.

☞ To be had at the Anti-Slavery Offices, 5 Beekman street, New York; 107 North Fifth street, Philadelphia; and 221 Washington street, Boston.

Liberator, Bugle, and other papers friendly to the dissemination of anti-slavery truth and light, will please copy.

Summary.

A Negro Killed.—A party of gentlemen were out hunting this morning, when their dogs got on the trail of a negro in the cornfield of Mr. J. A. Dougherty, just above town, and ran him up to a heavy briar thicket near the Montesano, where he took refuge and fought desperately against his assailants. He killed five of the dogs with a large butcher knife, then fled on hearing the hunters approach. He refused to obey their orders to stop and surrender, when a number of shots were fired with effect, and he fell dead. He is of copper complexion, heavy moustache, and bears a striking resemblance to an Indian. His place of retreat in the briar thicket was well stored with provisions.—*Baton Rouge Advocate, Sept. 20, 1860.*

Straw Bail in Slave Cases.—Over a year ago the condemned slaver Orion was permitted to sail, a bond in the sum of $7,000 being substituted for her value. The bond was given by one Rudolph Blumenberg, who swore on his examination that he was worth $17,000. Recently the United States District Attorney obtained an order to execute the decree of condemnation by enforcing the payment of the bond; and it now appears that Mr. Blumenberg is totally irresponsible, and possesses no property of any value whatever. By allowing the substitution of the bond, the government relinquished all claims against the vessel, and consequently it has now no claim of any value against either the vessel or the bondsman.—*Evening Post.*

The Home Journal says that, "quite independent of his fine prospect of a throne, the Prince of Wales is a very rich young man—worth seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. This vast sum has arisen from the surplus revenues from the estate of the Duchy of Cornwall, to which he became entitled immediately after he was born, and which have been accumulating with interest from that time, and this fund will go on increasing until he, as other subjects of the Queen, attains the age of twenty-one, so that by that time, the amount of money he will stand possessed of will be nearly one million pounds in hard cash." *Apropos* of the Prince's millionarity, Mr. Astor was introduced to the Prince as "the wealthiest man in America."

The Arrest of Booth.—The particulars of the last arrest of Sherman M. Booth are thus related by the Milwaukee *Free Democrat*: "Monday evening, October 8, while Mr. Booth was returning with a couple of ladies from a political meeting at Berlin, he was suddenly seized by Deputy United States Marshal Taylor, who, with an aid, pinioned and disarmed him, thrust him into a carriage which was in waiting, whereupon he was rapidly driven to the depot and put upon a special train and brought to this city. A carriage in waiting at the depot, received and conveyed him to the Custom House, where he was lodged in his old quarters. He has been retaken through an utter disregard to the advice of his best friends, that he should withdraw from the State, and utter disregard of precautionary measures for his own safety while in the State."

Capture of Fugitive Slaves.—Deputy United States Marshal Mason, and seven aids, captured four fugitive slaves and two free children from the neighborhood of Sandusky, and returned them by aid of a United States Commissioner in this city on Saturday last, to Mason County, Ky., from where the slaves had escaped. The particulars of this exploit are so enveloped in a cloud of glorification and mist, that the facts are not easily obtained. Huge stories are current about these mighty Nimrods being pursued up hill and down dale, through woods and cornfields, over fences and across running waters, by several hundred armed men, who shot at them from every bush and fence corner, yet hit none of the valiant hunters. These were the stories told through the city yesterday, but we fear that the true history of the affair will never reach posterity.—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

Dr. Lyman Beecher.—The venerable Dr. Lyman Beecher has just passed into his 86th year. The burden of age begins at last to rest upon him heavily, though not until fourscore years did he begin perceptibly to lose his normal activity of body or mind. He still walks the streets, suffers no disease but the infirmities of age, and exhibits cheerful spirits, though at times a wandering mind.

During the past summer he visited many of his old friends, and seven of his ten surviving children. In May, he spent a few weeks with Dr. Brainerd of Philadelphia. Returning, he passed several days at Orange, N. J., at the residence of Prof. Mason. Shortly afterwards he took a trip into New England, revisited the scenes of his early school days at Guilford, Ct., where he married his first wife in 1799. In New Haven, President Day and Professor Silliman talked over with him the events of early college life.—*Independent.*

Another Slaver.—On the morning of October 1, a Spanish man-of-war steamer discovered a vessel ashore near Sierra Morena, which proved to be the American screw steamer City of Norfolk. She had landed the night previous 800 as likely negroes as were ever brought from the coast of Africa. After the cargo and crew had landed, full steam was put on, the valves opened, her feed pipes cut, and the City of Norfolk was headed seaward and abandoned, and it was the expectation of her captain that she would soon founder; but the currents, it appears, carried her ashore, which led to the discovery and capture of 500 negroes, together with the crew. The remainder of the cargo had been disposed of. The American officers and crew were sent to Havana and confined for a few days in the Navy Yard barracks, and finally sent by the American Consul to Key West on the United States steamer Crusader.

Another case of kidnapping has occurred in Illinois. On the 28th ultimo a person representing himself as the agent of parties in Canada went to Galena to hire men and women to work on a farm and in a hotel in Southern Iowa, expressing his preference for colored persons. He succeeded in engaging Johnny Boyd, a free mulatto, his wife, a colored girl fourteen years old, and the party took with them a small white child two or three years old. Boyd was subsequently found murdered, his body lying by the roadside. The circumstances attending his departure from Galena have no other belief than that he was enticed away with the intention of enslaving him, and that, becoming suspicious of the intentions of his employer, he was put to death to make sure of the others of the party. The citizens have offered a reward of $500 for the apprehension of the kidnapper and murderer.

Hayti.—Late advices from Hayti state that subscriptions continue to be taken up for the widow of John Brown. Subscriptions are also received for Lamartine's complete works, and Lamartine himself has written a letter to a Hayti editor, thanking him for his exertions to swell the subscription list.

Among the Acul mountains there has been found, in an old house, a bust of Lord Nelson. It is of white marble, somewhat stained by time and neglect. Nelson is represented in his costume of admiral, and bears on his breast five decorations. One in commemoration of the battle of Aboukir, has the inscription, "Rear Admiral Lord Nelson of the Nile." Another medal bears the words, "Almighty God has blessed His Majesty's glory."

This bust, interesting in its artistic and historical association, was found on an altar devoted to the fetish worship, where for half a century it has been reverenced as the Deity of the Mountain Streams. The names of the sculptors were Coale & Lealy, of Lambeth.

Thus for fifty years the bust of an English admiral has been worshipped as a heathen idol.

The finder of the statue has refused an offer of five hundred dollars for it.

Saltatory Tracts.—The Prince's visit is having a demoralizing effect on those good people whose devout gratitude has chiefly been that they were not as other men. We need not refer to the sad example here of a Prince leading some of our best men to a public ball on Saturday night, and then being received with distinguished honors at the church next morning. How can we impress the sin of dancing on the minds of our children, who have witnessed this? In New York some of the managers of the Nassau street Tract Society, which has issued powerful tracts on the sin of dancing, are on the list of managers of the ball to the Prince at the Academy of Music.

Think of the publishers of those solemn tracts, relating how a young lady, who had received religious convictions during a revival, but, contrary to the remonstrances of her friends, would attend a ball, and was carried home a corpse—think of the publishers of these, managing a ball, with no thought for the young woman who was struck dead in their tracts! It will take a new edition of tracts on dancing, and several more young ladies will have to be killed at balls for them, to offset the influence of the saltatory performance of the Tract Society managers.—*Cincinnati Paper.*

Abraham Lincoln.—A correspondent of Bennett's *Herald*, writing from Springfield, Illinois, after an interview with Abraham Lincoln, says: "I do not see why people call him Old Abe. There is no appearance of age about the man, excepting the deeply indented wrinkles on his brow, and the furrows ploughed down his barecheeks, hairless as an Indian's; you can hardly detect the presence of frost in his black, glossy hair. Neither do I understand why he is represented as being so prodigiously ugly. He is awkwardly tall; but if he had had a military training, his height would be rather to his advantage than otherwise. He is 'no carpet knight so trim,' affects not the elegancies of refined society, does not care to imitate New York aldermen in the matter of yellow kids, but is altogether a plain, blunt, unostentatious man, and I have no doubt that the epithet 'honest' as applied to him is not misapplied. While you would recognize in his face a general resemblance to the popular photographs and prints of him, yet you would say at once that none of them did him justice. In all of them his face wears a stony, rigid, corpse-like expression, as if they were taken from a piece of sculpture, whereas in conversation he has great mobility and play of features, and when he is thus animated you fail to perceive anything of the ugly or grotesque about him."

A Slave Remanded to his Master.—*Ex-parte* application of David Gibbs in the matter of a *habeas corpus* issued to try the question of freedom of the boy Henson, about twelve years of age, and alleged to be illegally deprived of his liberty.

Lewis Bruce, in answer to the writ, stated that he was the owner of the boy, and was taking him from Virginia, his former residence, to Missouri; that the boat on which he was travelling had stopped at Cincinnati Landing, and tied up to the shore, against his wishes.

Jolliffe argued the case for applicant, claiming that the boy was found within our jurisdiction, and, as slavery could not exist in Ohio under her Constitution and laws, he must be declared free.

Judge Gholson (elected last year by the Republicans) announced the decision (the other members of the Court, Judges Carter, Mallon and Collins, concurring), and held that, although the jurisdiction of our Courts extended for many purposes to boats on the Ohio river, the citizens of Virginia and other States bordering on the South had a right to the free navigation of the river; that the stopping of boats and tying up at the Landing was a necessary *incident* to the right of free navigation, and as such rested on a higher basis than the mere jurisdiction of the river.

In the course of the decision it was remarked that, while we should carefully maintain our own rights, yet the Courts must also see to it that the rights of our neighbors were not infringed. The Sheriff was directed to return the boy to his owner on the boat.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

Our Countrymen.—Bayard Taylor characterizes the *New England* tourist as grave, respectable looking, slightly petulant about accommodations, thin face and lips, no beard, precise in language, and gold spectacles. Under this, solid information, fair capacity to enjoy himself, positive opinions, and general appreciation of nature. Not the worst fellow to travel with. The *New Yorker* is more flexible, and less precise, dresses well, but affects carelessness. He makes acquaintances and forgets them with equal ease, and shifts his opinions, like his clothes, if he finds better. The *Philadelphian* is almost as prim as the New Englander. He never talks fifteen minutes without mentioning Philadelphia, his voice is thin and sharp, and he snubs all the short vowels; yet he is warm, hospitable and accessible. The *Southerner* is either rarely refined—a little exacting, perhaps—or bold, swaggering and profane. His accent always shows that he played with young darkies when he was a boy; he says *whar* and *thar*, and *mans'r* or *mas'r*, for master. But of either class he is frank and companionable, and will fight and be reconciled ten times, while a New Englander is working up a life-long enmity. The *Western* man is described, if you know his latitude, and reproduces New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, as the case may be. He is restless, addicted to adjectives, and says, "That's so!" He thinks every place "slow," but his own particular place; is easily satisfied, jovial, and, like the Southerner, chews tobacco, and drinks Bourbon.

A Trumped-up Case against a Slave Woman.—Rena A. Fields, a colored woman, at the instance of Francis A. Cohen, her late owner, formerly of Charleston, S. C., and now of No. 103 West Twentieth street, was tried on the charge of stealing from him a mattress and other articles. Mr. Charles S. Spencer appeared as her counsel. The defendant had been brought to this city some months since by Mr. Cohen, and having learned that she was entitled to freedom, left her master's house and went to reside elsewhere. Some days since she was encountered in the street by her former owner and arrested on the charge of theft. The case came up for trial on Thursday, 18th inst., but was put off till Saturday, Mr. Spencer protesting that there was a plot in existence to arrest her and render her back into slavery.

The case was called on Saturday, and Mr. Cohen placed on the stand. He could not state whether the mattress and bed-clothing found in Rena's possession were his property, nor that the articles, if taken, had been taken with intent to steal them, any more than the clothing which she wore, which was by law the property of her owner. She had been his slave nine years. Mr. Spencer remarked that two United States Deputy Marshals had been present in Court, and asked whether he had it in mind, or knew of a plot, to procure the prisoner's rendition to slavery. Mr. Cohen replied, "No." Mr. Spencer addressed the Court, and stated that he had witnesses present to testify that the defendant had purchased the bed-clothing, and had not taken anything belonging to the owner except the clothing upon her person. But as no larceny had been proven, he moved the dismissal of the case. The prisoner was discharged, and friends in attendance took her out of harm's way.—*Tribune.*

A Bostonian Driven from Alabama.—William J. Brewster, of Boston, went to Somerville, Alabama, by engagement, a few weeks since, to take charge of an academy. He has returned, having been driven out as an Abolitionist, and narrowly escaped with his life. A Northern man with Southern principles, who was fellow passenger with Mr. Brewster, as far as Charleston, South Carolina, did the mischief by reporting to several rabid pro-slavery men at Charleston some remarks about slavery made by Mr. Brewster. The Charlestonians immediately wrote to Somerville, and by the time Mr. Brewster arrived there the community was in a ferment about him. Upon his arrival there the mob surrounded him in the street and ordered him to leave town. He asked to be heard in self-defence, but was told that the fact that he had come from Boston was evidence enough against him. His trunk was broken open, and in it was found a letter from Charles Sumner, written in 1854, and a copy of *The Boston Traveller*, containing one of Henry Ward Beecher's sermons, which had, however, no allusion to slavery in it. These were used as evidence against him, and the excited populace became perfectly furious. They gave him three hours to leave town in. Unable to find a conveyance, he started on foot for Valhamoso Springs, bargaining with a man to convey his trunk there for $1.50. He had proceeded three miles when he was overtaken by three men, who ordered him to take his coat off. Refusing to comply he was pitched into a pond, and kept there for some time. Finally they left him, and he proceeded five miles further to the residence of Mr. Gier, the man who had engaged him to take the school, by whom he was got safely out of the State.

The contrast between this barbarous treatment of a Yankee schoolmaster in Alabama, and the courteous bearing extended to the fire-eating disunionist, Yancey, in the free States, is greatly to the credit of the North. It illustrates the wide difference between society in the free and slave States.—*Springfield Republican.*

Six Negroes Kidnapped near Sandusky.—The Sandusky (Ohio) *Register* of the 15th says that on Friday evening at about 9 o'clock two cabins situated on the "Mills lot," a little south of the Castalia road, about three miles from Sandusky, were surprised by a party of some ten or fifteen kidnappers, and Mr. Marshall and wife, and Mr. Hutchins, wife—a free woman—and two children were taken from their homes, dragged to the railroad, and put on board the night train for Cincinnati, which left Sandusky at ten, p.m. The neighbors were aroused and went to Castalia station to stop the party, but could not find them in the cars. After the cars started it was discovered that a dark car was attached, and that the kidnappers and their victims had entered that car at Venice siding, near where the assault had been committed. *The Register* says:

"A neighbor living on the way between the cabins and the point on the road where they took the cars, heard Mrs. Hutchins crying, and asked what was the matter; she replied that 'several persons were taking her away,' and called for help. He stepped into his house, and took a loaded gun and fired a charge of shot at a man as he was attempting to get Mrs. H. over the fence. The man fell and called for help, when some others came to his relief and took the woman away. There were found evidences of pretty severe scuffling about the cabins. Some report that blood was found, and that the course of the party could be traced by blood along the way. One child of 7 years was found in one of the cabins, and the pantaloons worn by one of the negroes. Several hard-looking, suspicious fellows were observed about this city on Friday afternoon and evening, and from various circumstances there can be no doubt that they were concerned in the affair.

"The children were each about six months old, and were born in Ohio. They first came here in December last, as we are told, and some time during the winter, rented 30 acres of wild land for five years, put up cabins, and moved on to it in March last. In the spring they cleared seven acres and put out crops, and the cultivated land is now covered with a fine crop of corn, etc., sufficient for their winter's supply.

"Several of our citizens have visited the place, and they report that everything looks as though they had been industrious and were very comfortably situated. There are other negro cabins in the neighborhood—none close by—and no whites living near. The colored man who heard Mrs. Hutchins crying as she was being dragged over the fence and who shot at the kidnapper, was probably the first one of the neighbors aroused, and the first to give the alarm.

"Two gentlemen from this city, who were passing on Sunday morning through the field where the captives were taken, discovered a sheet lying partly concealed within a shock of corn. Upon further examination they found a little child of two and a half years partly wrapped in the sheet. It looked up with a pitiful, wild look, but was too much exhausted to cry, it having been exposed there two nights and one day, covered with nothing but a thin cotton sheet. It was cold and swollen, and looked as though it had nearly cried itself to death. It was taken to a house and cared for, and yesterday had quite recovered and seemed cheerful. It is probable that when the man who was dragging the woman over the fence was fired at, and called for help, some one of the party was carrying the child and threw it down and ran to the relief of his companion.

"What say you, mothers! of that 'institution' which makes such things possible, and allows them under cover of law?"

Special Notices.

The Philadelphia Fair Sewing Circle.—The Philadelphia Fair Sewing Circle will meet on Wednesday evening, Oct. 31st, at the house of Mrs. Charlotte Pierce, N.E. corner of Seventh and Buttonwood streets.

The Monthly Union Anti-Slavery Meeting for November will be held in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, on Monday Evening, Nov. 12, at 7½ o'clock. This meeting is free to all the friends of the slave, without regard to sect or party. It is uniformly interesting and profitable. Come, one and all!

Advertisements.

PORTRAIT OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.—A most faithful and spirited portrait of Mr. Phillips has just been finished by Thomas M. Johnston. It is pronounced by the most intimate friends of Mr. P. the very best picture which has ever been made of him, and in every respect a complete success. This fine picture is to be drawn on stone by the best lithographer in the United States, when copies will be furnished to subscribers at one Dollar each. Address, C. H. BRAINARD,
322 Washington street, Boston.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.—Proceedings of the Tenth National Woman's Rights Convention, held in New York, May, 1860. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 5 Beekman street, New York. Price 25 cents.

Miscellaneous Department.

WAITING FOR DEATH.

[The following lines were written by Rev. Wareham Walker, formerly editor of *The American Baptist*, about a year before he died of consumption. They show the Christian spirit with which he contemplated his approaching departure from earth.]

Swiftly pass the dark days by,
And my last day draweth nigh—
Hastes the time when I must die.

Earth, upon her ample breast,
Hath for me no place of rest;
Heavenward turns my weary quest.

Broad before me surge and roll
Floods, that, mocking all control,
Sternly bar me from my goal.

O'er the rushing torrent cast,
Frowns a shadow dim and vast—
Yet that river must be passed.

Who in sight would lose their faith,
Must—for so the Spirit saith—
Meet the Jordan-swell of death.

Holy men and seers of old,
Ere they gained their harps of gold,
Tasted each its waters cold.

Dearest friends have crossed the tide:
More than with me here abide
Woo me to the farther side.

Vision-rapt, my eager gaze,
Peering through the dusky haze,
Hosts of shining ones surveys.

Gathered on the solemn strand,
Grouped in many a kindred band,
Lo, the good of every land!

Men who strove in dubious fight,
Martyrs of the true and right,
Here repose in robes of light.

Men who turned to wisdom's way
Erring souls that went astray,
Like the stars will shine for aye.

Who have healed the hearts that bled,
Famished outcasts housed and fed,
And the mourning comforted;

Who the helpless poor have saved;
Who the oppressor's power have braved,
Bearing freedom to the enslaved;

Who, believing on the Son,
Works of faith and love have done—
Life eternal they have won.

Fades the trance; and I, once more,
List the river's sullen roar,
Waiting on the hither shore.

THE TOWER OF LONDON.

[Concluded from last week.]

But it was not for the custody only of kidnapped kings, or captive princes, that the Tower was used by the possessors of arbitrary power. Religion, in those uncultivated ages, is sure to have its victims, as well as tyranny. The first martyr of freedom of inquiry was the brave and virtuous Lord Cobham. To strike terror into lesser offenders, it seemed good to the ecclesiastical authorities, armed with full powers from Rome, to let the weight of their anger fall upon the coronet of a noble. If the dignity of a peerage did not set a reformer above their power, what chance had humbler men to resist their lightest claim? It was proved against the noble offender, that he had maintained that "whoso it be that doth the worship to dead images which is due to God, or putteth such trust or hope in the help of them as he should do to God, or hath affection in one more than another, doth in that the great sin of masomentry" (or idolatry). He had also maintained that "he that knoweth the holy commandments of God, and keepeth them to the end, shall be saved, though he never in his life go on pilgrimage, as men use now, to Canterbury or to Rome, or to any other place." He had denied that every man living here bodily on earth ought to confess to a priest ordained by the Church; and, worst of all, he denied that as Christ ordained St. Peter to be his vicar here on earth, the same power which he granted to that apostle was vested in his successors, the Popes, whom all Christians are bound to obey, according to the laws of the Church of Rome. For these most dreadful and heretical opinions, Lord Cobham was condemned to die; and to mark the atrocity of his sin, he was executed in a manner the most painful and degrading that malignity and cruelty could invent. He was drawn from the Tower to St. Giles's Field, where he was suspended by the middle from a chain: a fire was kindled under him, and he was thus burnt to death. The dust of such martyrs is indeed the seed of a true Church; and from this glorious execution we are never without voices rising in all parts of England—and of the world—against the crimes and iniquities of the old, and, as we had hoped, exploded superstition. Lollards, as they were then called—that is, rebels against the Pope's authority, and believers in the plain words of Scripture—were imprisoned by hundreds in the dungeons of the Tower; and when we reflect on the helplessness of those sufferers, and the cruelty of the treatment they experienced for such a crime, it is a sort of relief to turn to the upper rooms of the same prison, which we find tenanted by mere rebels against the crown, or foreign enemies, who would have done the same to their conquerors if the issue of the battle had been different. Throughout the troubles and civil wars of the fifteenth century, we find an endless succession of captives consigned to these impenetrable walls. Twice Henry VI. was immured within them—kindly treated, they say, in consequence of the feebleness and meekness of his character—and finally found dead, whether by violence or not is not certainly known, in the chamber he had occupied so long.

> "Ye towers of Julius, London's lasting shame,
> By many a foul and midnight murder fed;
> Revere his consort's faith, his father's name,
> And spare the meek usurper's holy head."

The person accused of this "meek usurper's" murder, if such did really take place, was Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. Enough of crimes he has to answer for, without this unproved accusation being cast upon his memory. By treachery and violence he succeeded to the throne of his brother, the handsome and prodigal Edward, and soon the Tower began to feel the effects of the new tyranny which had established itself by so much blood. The powerful and dangerous were, of course, the first victims; but there is an episode connected with the hardheartedness of this usurper, which lets us get a view of humbler people, and shows to what meannesses the rancor of a base nature like Richard's can descend. The following account has all the freshness of reality, and brings the scene completely before our eyes.

In a council held after the death of Edward, when Richard assumed to be protector of the kingdom, he asked Lord Hastings "what they deserved that compassed his destruction, who was so near of blood to the king, and protector to his royal person." "Surely, my lord," replied Lord Hastings, "they were worthy to be punished as traitors, whosoever they be." "Then," quoth the protector, "that is yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, and other with her," meaning the queen. "Ye shall see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her counsel—Shore's wife—with their affinity, have by their witchcraft wasted my body;" and herewith turned up his doublet sleeve to the elbow of his left arm, where he showed a wearish, withered arm and small, as it was never other (that is, as it always was), and thereupon every man's mind misgave him, well perceiving that this matter was but quarrel, for they wist that the queen was too wise to go about such folly. But Lord Hastings answered: "Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy of heinous punishment." "What?" cried the protector, "thou servest me, I wean, with ifs and ands. I tell thee they have done so, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor." And thereupon, striking his hand upon the table, a cry of treason was raised in the adjoining chamber, and Gloucester, hastily rising, and going to the door, a body of armed men rushed in. A violent scuffle ensued; one of them with a poleaxe gave Lord Stanley a serious wound on the head. Hastings was seized. "I arrest thee, traitor," said the Duke of Gloucester. "Me, my lord?" "Yea, thee," replied the duke; "and I would have thee shrive, for by St. Paul, I will not dine till I have seen thy head off." And so was the Lord Hastings brought forth into the green beside the chapel within the Tower, and there, without time for confession or repentance, his head was stricken off upon a log of timber.

Here are queens and dukes and lords, but among them all, the noticeable name is that of Shore's wife. This was the famous Jane Shore, who had been the favorite of the late king, and had used the power her influence gave her in so kind and judicious a manner, that people were inclined to forgive her for the means by which she had obtained it. "Proper she was and fair," says Sir Thomas More, the historian of those troubled times; "nothing in her body you would have changed, unless you would have wished her somewhat higher. Yet delighted not men so much in her beauty as in her pleasant behavior; for a proper wit she had, and could both read well and write; merry in company; ready and quick in answer; neither mute nor full of babble; sometimes taunting without displeasure and not without disport. When the king took displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his mind; where men were out of favor, she would bring them to his grace; for many that had highly offended she obtained pardon; of great forfeitures she got remission; and, finally, in many weighty suits, she stood men in great stead, either for none, or very small rewards, and those rather gay than rich; either for that she was content with the deed's self well done, or because she delighted to be sued unto, and to show what she was able to do with the king."

But to the Tower this unfortunate favorite was sent—obloquy was heaped upon her name, and accusations of crimes, such as witchcraft, brought against her, in addition to the sins of which she was really guilty. And the servile clergy were very glad of an opportunity of gaining favor with the tyrant, by degrading as much as possible the now powerless woman, whose good qualities and generosity he naturally abhorred. She was sentenced to do penance by the Bishop of London. She was taken in procession, barefooted, and enveloped in a white sheet, through the streets, to St. Paul's Cross, where she made open confession of her only great crime. She bore her disgrace with much becoming fortitude; and the gracefulness of her manner, with the deep sense of shame manifested in her downcast looks, gained her the pity of every feeling heart.

> "Submissive, sad, and lowly was her look;
> A burning taper in her hand she bore,
> And on her shoulders carelessly confused,
> In loose neglect her lovely tresses hung.
> Her streaming eyes bent ever on the earth,
> Except when in some sudden pang of sorrow,
> To Heaven she seemed in fervent zeal to raise them,
> And beg that mercy man denied her here."

It is not to be forgotten that another of her punishments—and the one, probably, that was the most agreeable to her oppressors—was the forfeiture of all her goods. When they had got all her money she was no longer worth keeping in the Tower, and they turned her out into the world, where she had now neither wealth nor friends. This account of the outcast Jane Shore,

> "Who died deserted at her utmost need,
> By those her former bounty fed,"

may serve as a companion picture to the sufferings of kings and princes, and show that when despotism is once established in a land, it strikes at all alike; and despotism, in its heaviest form, was close at hand.

When Henry VII., after the fluctuating reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III., had fully established himself on the throne, there were no alternations of victory and defeat to call the apartments of the fortress into use; and yet an increasing tide set onward toward those gloomy vaults, and carried with it indifferently Yorkist and Lancastrian—the nobles that had assisted him in his distress, or those who resisted him in his strength. One grim, dark figure, moving noiselessly, but watchful, everywhere, pointed with his fingers, or nodded with his head, and the baron was seized in his hall, the citizen in his parlor, the lady in her oratory; the dismal key was turned, and the only prospect was a scaffold on Tower Hill. There is something awful in the solemn obedience paid to that silent, bloodthirsty tyrant by the greatest and the least. No man knew who sat at meat with him; it might be a spy of the court, though perhaps a kinsman of his own. A whisper in the ear of Empson and Dudley, the infamous informers, took away the squire's estate, the nobleman's castle, and the heads of both. Who could offer any resistance? The gentry had been destroyed, or nearly so, by fifty years of civil war; the citizen had not yet risen into consideration by commerce; there was no public opinion to unite and guide great masses of men; and there sat, at Windsor or Westminster, a deep, sagacious, imperturbable statesman, with crown on head and sword in hand, wielding all the authorities of the State; no law to check him, no power to oppose him, no generosity within to soften him, and the gates of the Tower ready to open on their noiseless hinges the moment he gave the sign. For long successions from father to son, no bearer of a lofty title had died in his bed. Many died in battle, many by the axe; and, as spaniels like their master the better the more he applies the whip, it actually seemed to deepen men's reverence for the king, that his mere word had sent their ancestors to the block, where it would also probably send themselves. The system that Henry VII. began was, of course, continued by Henry VIII.; and the thing that seems to have astonished Charles I. and James II. the most, in the resistance which at length the reviving national spirit enabled Englishmen to make, was the positive disinclination that people showed to being sent to prison. "Where will this end?" said Charles I., when all London rose up in indignation at his sending some Opposition Members of Parliament into the safe keeping of the Tower. "If I can't imprison my subjects, I am no longer a king!" "What a fuss about a trifle!" said James II., when the now awakened people expressed their indignation at his sending the seven bishops into confinement for petitioning him to govern according to right; "but I will show them a greater stretch of prerogative than this!"

The power of imprisonment had in fact existed so long, and the Tower stood so invitingly open, that it must have come upon kings and people by surprise when they found that the keys of that dreadful fortress were now intrusted to a power more potent than kings or people, called the Law; that the sword of governance would never again be placed in one hand of our rulers without the scales of justice in the other. But in Henry VIII.'s time such ideas had not yet been got out of Latin and Greek books and been translated into the vulgar tongue, and so the Tower carried on a thriving trade in suffering and death. Among the first who tasted the bitterness of the cup they had so often prepared for others, were Empson and Dudley, the degraded ministers of the late king, "who, being lawyers in science," as their historian says, "and privy councillors in authority, had turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine." Nothing, indeed, is more strange in those years than the regularity with which punishment overtakes the wrongdoer; no sooner, in reading the list of prisoners in the Tower, do we see the name of some innocent man, condemned by the cruelty of his adversary for some imaginary offence, than, on turning over the page, we encounter the name of the adversary himself. We read of Bainham and Frith tormented and racked by the zeal of the Roman Catholic chancellor, Sir Thomas More; and before we have time to pity the poor sufferers, we read of the imprisonment and death of the same Sir Thomas More, who had fallen out of favor with the brutal and capricious king. None of the murders committed at the dictation of Henry cast such a stain upon his name as the sacrifice of this the greatest lawyer, the brightest scholar, and the most polished wit of his time. There was a perfect agreement between the tyrant and his chancellor as long as the Reformers were to be repressed. Henry's quarrel with Rome was not about the extent of the papal power, but about who was to wield it. "Let heretics be burnt," he said; "let those who deny the efficacy of absolution, and the power of saints, be tortured as much as you like. Let all who dissent from the Church be punished with the utmost rigor; only, let everybody confess that of that Church I am supreme and only governor." In all his other sentiments and beliefs, Sir Thomas More most fervently joined; but on the last claim of the king, the partnership was dissolved. The Pope had so long been acknowledged the chief of the Church; the laws which Sir Thomas had studied had so firmly established this principle, that he was now too old to give up an opinion he had been brought up in; and accordingly, as he had persecuted heretics for differences as unimportant as this, he at once made up his mind to undergo the same fate he had inflicted on them. The royal supremacy here claimed by Henry was not any power that interfered with the doctrines of the Church, but meant that the clergy should be subjects of the king, and not of the Pope. On this point Sir Thomas More was firm. He was tried, not for heresy, as his victims had been, for denying the transubstantiation of bread into flesh, but for treason, in denying an authority which Parliament had expressly acknowledged as inherent in the king. He was convicted of resistance to an Act of Parliament; and early on the morning of the 6th of July, 1535, it was announced to him that he was to die before nine o'clock. His good humor and liveliness never left him. Indeed, there is something not altogether satisfactory in the frivolous mirth with which his last scene was accompanied. We should have been better pleased if the closing hour had brought more melancholy thoughts. On the contrary, he seemed to grow funnier, the nearer the axe approached. When he was conveyed to the Tower, the turnkey, who had the strange privilege of pillaging his prisoner, asked him for his uppermost garment as a perquisite of his office. Sir Thomas merrily presented him with his cap, and told him that was his *uppermost* garment, and he heartily wished it was of more worth. As he was being led out of the Tower to his execution, a woman reproached him for detaining some deeds when he was in office. "Good woman," said he, "have patience a little, for the king is so generous unto me, that within this half-hour he will discharge me of all my business, and help thee himself." As he ascended the scaffold, he asked one of the officers to help him up, adding, "and when I come down again, let me shift for myself." And this scoffing manner accompanied him to the moment of his death. After he had prayed, and had laid his head upon the block, the executioner begged his forgiveness. "I forgive thee," said he, "but prithee, let me put my beard aside, for that hath never committed treason;" adding, "Pluck up thy spirit, man, and be not afraid to do thine office; my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not wrong for the saving of thine honesty." The wit of these speeches scarcely seems bright enough to carry off the gloominess of the period he chose for their utterance; but they show, perhaps, that his conscience was at rest, and that he was satisfied with the cause for which he died.

After a victim so noble had been sacrificed for so slender a cause, people were on the watch for the next stretch of the king's hand, and shuddered as the monster roused himself for a new display of his power. In his own house—in his own bedchamber—the blow fell; and the fate of his young and beautiful wife, the hapless Anne Boleyn, was sealed. Till the age of seven, or, as others say, of thirteen, she was brought up by her father's fireside in the county of Kent—a lively, playful, pretty child.

> "Petulant she spoke, and at herself she laughed.
> A rosebud set in little wilful thorns,
> And sweet as English air could make her, she."

It was an old English family this of the Boleyns, descended originally from a lord mayor of London, but by many ambitious marriages now allied with the chief nobility; and its present representative, Sir Thomas Boleyn, the father of Anne, married Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. While yet extremely young, Anne was appointed maid of honor to the Princess Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., when she went over to Paris, and married the French king. At this court, the gayest at that time, and long after, of all the courts in Christendom, Anne played the part that loveliness, youth, and vanity are generally desirous of performing. She attracted great observation by her beauty—won many hearts by her engaging manners, and delighted all listeners with her cleverness and wit. Enemies she had, who spread rumors against her character, but with no convincing proof; and on her return to England, she was advanced to the post of lady of honor to the formal and religious Queen Catherine, who would certainly not have admitted into her service and companionship a person against whom these accusations were well founded. The appearance of a young and lively girl, so beautiful and so amusing, in the hitherto dull apartments of the Spanish zealot, must have been like sunshine in a shady place; and it was not long before the ill-omened eyes of Henry fell upon the new attendant of his wife. The enemies of Anne Boleyn—who are also the enemies of the Reformation—try to persuade us, that in order to gain her object and ascend the throne as Henry's wife, she laid down the following plan: First, To get the king to fall in love with her, which might not be difficult. Secondly, To hold him at a distance and keep him constant by virtue and beauty alone. Thirdly, To upset the religion of England, overthrow the authority of the Pope, and introduce a new ecclesiastical system, from the archbishops in Lambeth and York down to the curates in country parishes, and even clerks and bell-ringers. Fourthly, To get the queen divorced. And, finally, To procure the execution of the Lord Chancellor, a change in the whole policy of Europe, and war with the Emperor of Germany. Why don't we see the causes that produced her advancement? She was young enough not to take a very desponding, or perhaps a very sensible view of life; and ambitious enough to allow the splendor of a throne to blind her eyes to the bad qualities of the king who filled it. But even with regard to his bad qualities, in the year 1527, we must talk with many grains of allowance. He had not yet had an opportunity of showing many of them to any observable extent. If Nero had died at twenty-two, he would have had the reputation of the best of men; at thirty-seven, Henry was known as a man of bluff manners, high notions of his own abilities, and having what is commonly called a will of his own; but nobody gave him credit, at that time, for being little more than a sort of amateur executioner with a crown on.

All difficulties, though apparently insuperable, were at last overcome, and Anne became Queen of England, and mother of Elizabeth, and might have expected a long life of happiness and popularity. But it was now 1537, and the hinges of the Tower began to grate. Among her maids of honor was a young and high-born damsel of the name of Jane Seymour, with the two great requisites in Henry's eyes of novelty and youth. How was Anne to be got rid of? He accused her of unguarded words—of improper conduct—of a previous contract of marriage with a young Lord Percy—and on one or other of these accusations he was determined to destroy the queen—the mother of his child. The servile courts found her guilty on every plea. She was condemned to the Tower, to be burnt or beheaded according to the good pleasure of the king. It was very great pleasure, indeed, to that affectionate husband, to order her only to have her head cut off. On the 19th of May she was brought out on a scaffold erected on the green within the Tower. "She approached," the historian says, "with a firm and graceful step; her beauty shone in all its wonted brightness, and every one seemed disarmed by the sweet benignity that beamed in her looks; even the executioner had not for a while the heart to do his office. Anne, alone, on this trying moment seemed to retain her self-possession;" and, after a few words, in which she commended her soul to Christ, she laid her fair head upon the block, and the small and graceful neck was severed at a blow. Without even a coffin, her body lay still and cold on the blood-stained green in the Tower; and as her head fell to the ground, a gun was fired from the walls. With anxious ear the king had been watching for the signal on an elevation in the Park at Richmond. When the sound reached him, he knew that all was over; but no compunction seized his heart. He carried the triumphant news to the object of his passion, and on the following day was married to Jane Seymour.

A more melancholy record than this is not in the annals of crime and baseness. The person who presided at the Court which condemned her was her uncle—the victim with whom she was falsely accused of guilt was her brother—the villain who gave the word for her murder, and actually furnished the orders for the scaffold and the block, was her husband! The last subject of her thoughts was her helpless child. Her remains were hurried into a common chest, and buried in the chapel of the Tower.

After this display of the king's disposition, it is not to be supposed that any rank or services were a security against imprisonment and death. Queen Jane escaped the family fate by dying in childbed. Anne of Cleves avoided it also by consenting to a dissolution of the marriage; but the tide flowed on its usual channel, when he gave his hand to a daughter of the house of Norfolk, the Lady Catherine Howard. Scarcely had he time to get tired of her, when rumors reached his ear that her character was very bad—that she was worse, a thousand times, than he had endeavored to make Anne Boleyn appear—a monster of profligacy and vice; and, in short, as sensual, wicked, and degraded as himself. The Tower gates opened once more for a queen. No sympathy this time was felt for the sufferer, for her guilt was manifest, and could not be denied. Some few, who cared for the justice of the case, thought it was hard that a woman should be put to death by her husband for actions committed before she was married; but with Henry it was all the same. He even condemned the relations of the guilty woman for having concealed her guilt, and a blow of the headman's axe stained once more the soil of this dreadful prison-house with royal blood, and enabled him to look out for another wife.

There are now, fortunately, but a few months left of the reign of this Bluebeard on a throne; and we begin to look well pleased on the dismal Tower, which soon will have a holiday when a gentler reign succeeds. But Henry had two friends—the most faithful in the kingdom, the highest in rank, the brightest in virtue—and therefore they must die. These were the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey, his son. We will follow the fortunes of the young man first, and end this catalogue of Henry's victims with the father's fate. The Earl of Surrey was the most accomplished man of his age; not only in the knightly arts of riding in a tournament, or even commanding in a battle, but he is beyond all doubt the most polished author and best poet of his time. All his studies were devoted to peaceful ends. He translated part of Virgil, part of Ecclesiastes, and some of the Psalms, into very elegant verse, and his original sonnets are still quoted for their gracefulness and sweetness. His crime, however, was so heinous in the eyes of Henry, that it would have outweighed the merits of all the muses. He had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor—that is, had had his shield ornamented with Edward the Confessor's arms; and though he showed from the Herald's College that his ancestors had always done so, the king considered it treason, as implying a claim to the throne. On this plea, the gallant young nobleman and gentle poet was put into the Tower. His father was there already. They were not allowed to meet; but as if to add bitterness to the father's cup, the son was tried before him, and again the blood of the Howards was spilt upon the grass of Tower Hill, and the illustrious Surrey left the poor old duke to battle with his enemies alone. The trial of the duke came on. Thirty years before this he had been the great soldier of England. He had always conquered by land or by sea—for the services were not at that time divided—and especially had served under his father at the great battle of Flodden, which so weakened the power of Scotland that she could never more cope on equal terms with her more powerful sister.

But all these services were forgotten; forgotten also was the obedience—we may almost call it servility—displayed by this chief of the Howards to the wishes and caprices of the king. We wish we could forget them, too, for they are the only blots upon his character. Out of an overstrained feeling of the duty of submission, he had acquiesced in the execution of his two nieces, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, the wives of the tyrant who now was intent on his own destruction. With a clinging to life, which was, perhaps, natural at his years, he begged for pardon—confessed guilt, where no guilt existed, in hopes of softening the obdurate heart of his destroyer—and found services, submission, confession, supplication, all in vain. On the 28th of January an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower for his execution on the following morning. What gloom was in the duke's chamber that night we need not say; what grief to find his white hairs dishonored, his petition disregarded, his son murdered almost before his eyes, and the hour approaching that was to carry him to the fatal block. But there was another chamber that night that was as full of gloom as the prisoner's dungeon in the Tower. On a stately bed lay a sufferer groaning with pain, and tormented, as we may suppose, with the upbraidings of an uneasy conscience. Fretful, irritable, and unsubdued, it was the king who was now at wrestlings with death. With trembling hands his wife administered the opiates recommended to soothe his pain; the page at the door counted the cries of anguish without a sigh of compassion; and silently the physician went through the ceremony of feeling the pulse, and could give no prospect of recovery. Here were two men, the tyrant and the victim, both struggling with the terrible hour. Gray dawn began to light up the turret tops of the Tower; it also rested on the roof of the palace at Westminster. The early morn was to see the Duke of Norfolk fall before the stroke of the executioner; but before that time a surer blow fell upon the exhausted tyrant. A hurried noise of feet sounded at the prisoner's door—the key is turned—a voice gives him the news—the king is dead, and the duke was saved. It shows how completely these cruelties were the work of the individual king, that his decease was the signal for the abrogation of a law; the sentence was never carried into execution, and in peace and quiet the remainder of the emancipated prisoner's days were past.

It would be easy to follow the gloomy history through the persecuting years of Mary, and the firm administration of Elizabeth. Herself a visitor to its darkened portals in her sister's days, she might have been less ready to open them for the reception of her foes. But the Tower was one of the institutions of the State, and asserted its importance under Tudors, and Stuarts, and Hanoverians; closing its grim jaws upon the victims of the hatred of James and Charles, and then in 1715 and 1745 enacting the same part towards the gallant loyalists who adhered to their descendant's cause. But enough has been said to identify this ancient edifice with the worst and most indefensible incidents in our history. As time went on, however, its character began to improve. With the same grim features outside, it has gradually got softened and civilized within—like a man we sometimes meet who has a very harsh countenance but a very warm heart. It opened its doors—on the usual payment—to crowds of gaping Cockneys and country visitors, and displayed all its curiosities, its racks, now rusty and out of use—its muskets, which looked like fossil remains of some extinct species of small cannon—its suits of armor and trophies of all kinds. A tremendous fire in the year 1837 reduced some of those strange but useless collections to cinders; and from that time it has assumed the appearance of a very peaceful dwelling indeed. Its moat is filled up and planted with choice shrubs; its frowning loopholes are covered with climbing wall-fruit; and it is difficult to believe that these stones and bricks are the same which echoed long ago to such appalling sounds, or were such words of fear to whole generations of men.

Last advancement of all, it was connected with the name and fortunes of the Great Duke. The duke was Constable of the Tower. There is surely a striking similarity in fate and character between that great warrior and the fortress which he commanded so long. The youth of both was passed amid wars and rumors of wars. Stern, cold, and unimpassioned, both did their duty, maintained their posts, and were bulwarks of the State and nation. If some harshness mingled with the earlier characteristics of our duke, it is to be attributed to the manners of the time. A soldier in those days was considered to have reached perfection when he had expelled the softer feelings of the heart. But a change came over Wellington, as it has done over his gallant companions in arms, and their successors in the defence of the land. With every advancing year the great heart of the unrivalled captain softened into human sympathy—his care fell with more tenderness on the comforts and advancement of the common soldier. The noble principle of justice, which had always been the regulator of his conduct, became mixed and mellowed with the feelings of charity and mercy, and ennobled by the sentiments of faith and hope; and these, between them, make up the perfect man. The gray old Tower, venerable with age, and stript of all its pomp and circumstance of war, with its placid walks and fruit-covered walls, is not so cheering a sight, not so characteristic of the happy change from the gloomy periods of our annals, as the sight of the time-honored Wellington—the hero of a hundred fights—the arbiter of the fate of nations, and the wielder of the irresistible thunderbolts of England—living among us, a kind, humane, affectionate, peace-loving old man; and sinking at last to death amid the regrets of a whole nation, which loved and honored him, and amid the fears of more secret and perhaps more sincere mourners, who looked to him for succor in their distress, and were relieved and comforted with the true sympathy of a Christian man, and the generosity of a hand "open as day to melting charity."—*Blackwood's Magazine.*

THE CAPITAL OF JAPAN.

I have been particularly struck with the vast distances and dimensions of Yeddo, as a city of palaces and temples, containing nothing remarkable for even the appearance of grandeur and magnificence in its buildings, but yet forming a continuous assemblage of beautiful, verdant, open, well wooded and well watered park-like localities, which prevent a visitor from realizing the fact that he is in a capital containing some two or three millions of people. While everything on the neighboring coast of China seems to be out of repair and falling into decay, here in Japan everything wears the air of neatness and careful culture. The sloping banks of the moats around the imperial domain, and girding the official quarter of the feudal princes, with some nine miles of clear water fed by streams, and planted on its edge with beautiful coppices of cedar, cypress, and the cryptomeria japonica of European botanists, form a succession of garden scenes rivalling the parks of London's "west end," and render Yeddo one of the most picturesque cities in the world. My companion, who has visited every European capital except Madrid, declared to me that it was the most beautiful city he had ever seen. The roads are broad, the streets clean, the people orderly, extreme destitution seldom meets the eye, and the force of law (that powerful bond in Japan) seems everywhere to prevent unseemly spectacles of quarrelling and fights. Powerful in their own material resources, and possessing within their own territory every production necessary for subsistence and the comforts of life, it is not remarkable that the rulers of Japan deem themselves independent of all imports from abroad, and, in their apprehension of political dangers, rigorously exclude foreigners from traversing the length and breadth of their lands. What weight of censure can be too severe in our judgment of those foreign residents who have lately gained an unenviable notoriety in the public press of England, and who do more to defer the day of Japan's entrance into the fraternity of civilized nations, than a large band of well-conducted Europeans and missionaries will be able in many years to neutralize and rectify. I am sorry to report that the moral lives of foreigners in Japan are generally disreputable in the extreme, and concubinage with Japanese women is (I fear) the general rule. The misconduct of unprincipled men is the great danger at the commencement of our international intercourse, and large powers must be lodged in the official representatives of Great Britain, to check the reckless dishonesty and violence of some of the traders who are now flocking to Japan.

During the first night of my stay here, there occurred a severe shock of an earthquake, which violently shook the house, and lifted us bodily, upward and down, with one single vertical motion. It awoke me at 4 a.m., and almost jerked me out of bed, and was succeeded by a rumbling noise and murmuring sound below the ground. There was a great panic; the bells of the neighboring temples were rung; the priests rushed to the shrines; prayers were chanted to the Buddhist idols, and everything wore the appearance of commotion and distress. There was no return of the shock. Nine years ago the city of Yeddo was visited by an earthquake, which, either by falling of houses, or by consequent conflagrations, destroyed an amount of the population variously estimated from 200,000 to half a million. No wonder that a shock of earthquake sends a vibration of terrible despair through the people, and that all the buildings are adapted to the insecure nature of the treacherous foundation beneath.—*Letter of Bishop Smith from Yeddo.*

THE DUNGEONS OF NAPLES.

Naples, Sept. 11.—One of our greatest objects of interest is now the easily-won Castle St. Elmo. The whole population of Naples, male and female, seem bent on performing a pilgrimage to that shrine of their patriot martyrs, and yesterday I went up myself with a party of friends. We first walked through St. Martin's marble church and monastery, where our Garibaldian red shirts, I dare say, boded little good to the white-cowled monks, who gazed at us as we passed, tall, stately and motionless, so that we at first mistook them for statues—good Carthusian monks doing penance in a marble paradise, bound by vow to a perpetual silence, and affecting an easy, unconcerned air, though in their heart of hearts probably trembling not a little for the visible and invisible treasures of which their sanctuary has been time out of mind the repository.

From the marble cells of the monks to the iron dungeons of the victims of Castle St. Elmo, the transition is but short, but the contrast is appalling. The stone steps wind down six floors, and at every floor room was made for about half a score of victims. Some of the miserable cells had windows; but, as the view from the hill over the loveliest panorama of land and sea would have been too great a solace to the lonely captive, the window was latticed over by thick wooden bars, not intended to prevent escape—for from that height only a bird could attempt it—but simply to rob the poor recluse of the distant view of his familiar scenes. In the lowest floor there is no window to the dungeons—only a little wicket in the door, opening outwardly, for the jailer to communicate with the prisoner if he has a mind. That wicket would be opened one moment in the morning, to let in a little bread and water; then the wicket would fall to, and for twenty-four hours all would be darkness inside.

I do not like to witness horrors, much less to dwell upon them, else I could tell you of the loop-holes we were shown, through which the sentries could shoot the prisoners in their cells and their beds. I could repeat the instances of wholesale executions of Swiss and Sicilian mutineers of which St. Elmo has been the theatre, and of which the world never knew anything. The caitiffs who were but yesterday in the King's pay are eager to promulgate abroad the infamy of his doings; and I have no doubt St. Elmo will soon become the subject of books or pamphlets yielding but little in interest to the stories of La Bastille, of which it will soon share the fate.

Yes, the good people of Naples are bent upon demolishing St. Elmo, and are only awaiting the Dictator's bidding to lay hand to the work.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SVEÄBORG.

Translated from the Swedish of J. L. Runeberg.

[During the war in Finland in 1807 General Cronstedt betrayed the impregnable fortress of Sveäborg into the hands of the Russians under General Suchtelen, though it had a garrison of 6,000 men, and sufficient provisions and ammunition to enable it to maintain itself for a whole year. He was induced to commit this frightful act of treachery by Russian bribes, as well as forged newspapers introduced into the fortress, containing false accounts of the losses sustained by the Swedes. By this, as well as other acts of treachery, Finland fell into the hands of Russia, notwithstanding the bold and valiant exploits of the Swedish Generals Aldercreutz, Dobeln, Sandels, Kleugsporr, etc., who did their utmost to defend their unhappy country against Russian invasion. The same Cronstedt who now acted such a despicable part, had previously distinguished himself by gaining the battle of Svenskund, one of the most decisive naval engagements, when 150 Swedish vessels beat 200 Russian, destroying fifty of the enemy's ships with a loss of only 2 themselves; the Prince of Nassau, who commanded the Russian fleet, being mortally wounded while attempting to escape by swimming. This great victory was gained on the 9th of July, 1790. Sveäborg was strongly fortified by Count Ehrensvard in 1749 and was always considered impregnable. The fortifications extend over seven islands, situated at the entrance of the harbor of Helsingfors, the capital of Finland.]

When evening shades began to flit,
And bright the firelight shone,
Old ensign Stahl and I would sit
And talk of times bygone.
Mid jests and jokes the night advanced,
When Sveäborg to name I chanced.

I spoke but carelessly the while,
When straight the old man frowned:
"Hast seen that wave-encircled isle
By Ehrensvard's bastions crowned?
The proud Gibraltar of the North!"
Thus fearlessly his words broke forth!

It glances far o'er sea and sky
With eyes of granite stone,
And rears Gustavus' sword on high,
And proudly calls—Come on!
That sword deals not in idle threats,
It flashes—and annihilates.

Near not that isle with boastful mien
On battle's blood-red path,
Rouse not the haughty ocean queen
In her dread hour of wrath;
She'll send thee back some fierce death notes,
Through thousand cannons' gaping throats.

Borne back was Finland's armed might
E'en to the polar snows,
But still our hopes were flashing bright
And high our courage rose;
Well could we brave all hostile powers
So long as Sveäborg was ours.

What lightnings flashed in every glance
Whene'er that name was said;
All fears and murmurs died at once,
E'en cold and hunger fled.
The Finnish bear from slumber woke,
It raised its paw, and dealt the stroke.

How oft, as in cold nights he lay
Upon his icy bed,
Far, far from Fatherland away,
That word the soldier said.
It was his tent when snowdrifts fall,
In distant lands his home, his all.

'Twas then a whisper floated by,
Dark rumor we could trace,
That spoke of shame and treachery
And of our arms' disgrace.
From rank to rank the news was borne,
But only met with haughty scorn.

But who, till Time be dead, can e'er
Forget the shame, the groan,
When, like a thunderbolt of fear,
The fatal truth was known:
That all our last fond hopes were o'er,
That Sveäborg was ours no more!

Had ocean's waves with fearful crash
Engulfed each battlement?
By thunder stroke or lightning flash
Were those strong bulwarks rent?
Were there none left the walls to guard?
We asked, but no reply we heard.

From many a bosom, scarred and sore,
Burst forth the groan of pain;
From eyes that never wept before
The tears burst forth like rain.
Your Fatherland was dead, ye brave!
And men stood weeping o'er the grave.

Ah me! The man whose deed of death
Now caused those tears to flow,
Once gained the fairest laurel wreath
That e'er decked hero's brow;
Our navy owes its brightest gem,
The victory of Svenskund, to him.

Yet e'en if worlds from his right hand
New life and light should gain;
If suns should quail before his brand,
He'd only reap disdain!
Meet guerdon for that deed of shame,
Wrought on the rock of Ehrensvard's fame.

Thou lov'st, dear youth, the minstrel's lay,
Thou lov'st our legends old;
Perchance that thou wilt sing, one day,
The tale which now I've told.
Then give his black deed to the light,
But shroud, like me, his name in night.

Conceal his lineage, hide his race,
The crime be his alone;
That none may blush for his disgrace,
Let it be all his own.
He who his country brings to shame,
Nor race, nor sire, nor son, may claim.

Call him a serpent, false and vile,
A wretch, devoid of faith;
Call him disgrace, and scorn, and guile,
Sin, infamy, and death!
Oh! call him by no other name,
To spare thy hearers grief and shame.

Take all that's blackest of the tomb
And all of life that's worst,
And weave of them some name of gloom,
And give it the accursed.
It could not wear a deadlier shade
Than his, who Sveäborg betrayed!

New Anecdote of Benedict Arnold.—The *Historical Magazine* has some interesting extracts from the private journal kept by Mr. Nathaniel Cutting of Massachusetts, during his residence abroad in the service of the United States. This journal has recently fallen into the hands William G. Brooks, Esq., of Boston, who prepared the article above named. In 1793, Mr. Cutting was appointed by President Washington to proceed to Lisbon with secret despatches to Colonel David Humphreys, the American Minister, and to act as Secretary to the Mission to Portugal. While Mr. Cutting was serving in this capacity, he was an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Mattra, the British Consul at Tangier. The English officer related to Mr. Cutting the following story of Gen. Benedict Arnold, "that despicable traitor to the cause of American freedom." It reveals his odious character in a new aspect of treason against his native land. The statement stands thus recorded in Cutting's journal:

"Several years since, as early as 1785, when Mr. Mattra was in England, he became slightly acquainted with Arnold, who, knowing his situation in Morocco, solicited an opportunity of proposing to him a scheme of business that could not fail of being lucrative. Mr. M. at length gave Arnold the hearing. The plan he proposed was that Mr. M. should, by his interest at the Court of Morocco, procure commissions for sundry corsairs, which he (Arnold) would come and fit out from Tangier. 'But,' observed Mr. M., 'who would you cruise against? The Emperor of Morocco has no maritime enemy; nor does he wish to provoke a rupture with any of the European powers.' Arnold replied, 'But the Americans have yet no treaty with Morocco; I would capture their vessels; I know very well the track to find them; by such an expedition we would soon acquire ample fortunes.' Arnold pressed the matter very seriously for some time, but finding that Mr. Mattra rejected the nefarious scheme, and steadily refused to exert the smallest influence toward obtaining the commissions in question, the arch-renegade solicited that he would assist him in procuring Algerine commissions. Mr. M., heartily disgusted with such villany, assured Arnold that he had no interest and scarcely any acquaintance at or near Algiers, and therefore explicitly excused himself from participating in such a diabolical pursuit. It was not only once, said Mr. Mattra, but perhaps a dozen times, that Arnold seriously addressed him to the foregoing purport."—*Boston Transcript.*

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